

M.G. Smith on the Isle of Lesbos: Kinship and Sexuality in Carriacou

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Abstract

In *Kinship and Community in Carriacou* (1962), M.G. Smith documents what he calls “abnormal” sexual relations between women in female-headed households on the island. These lesbian *madivines* represent statistically significant “deviations” from normative patterns of kinship and residence in domestic groups, and are associated with the shapeshifting witchcraft of *sukuyan* and *lugarou*. Linking Smith’s ethnography of “mating patterns” to transactional pathways of reproductive value—blood, money, witchcraft and sexuality—I rework his ideological explanation of Carriacou lesbianism (as a “mechanism” for preserving female marital fidelity) into a feminist model of female empowerment with comparative potentialities throughout the Caribbean.

Keywords

anthropology, kinship, lesbianism, witchcraft, Carriacou

Carriacou women are not feminists and cannot conceive of sexual equality.
—M.G. Smith

Zami. A Carriacou name for women who work together as friends and lovers.
—Audre Lorde

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When the Centre for Caribbean Thought at the University of the West Indies, Mona, hosted the Sixth Caribbean Reasonings Conference in June 2008, honoring the life and career of M.G. Smith (1921-93), it was déjà vu all over again. Or perhaps, more accurately, the return of the repressed. Critics and defenders of cultural pluralism, Smith's analytical framework for the study of Caribbean societies, faced off once again, replaying the debates of the 1960s and 1970s with a bit more humor and nuance the second time around, but still in no small measure of controversy.¹ Nor were the debates purely academic, but carried the historic alliance of Marxists and black nationalists against Smith's elaboration of Weberian structuralism, in which racial, ethnic, and cultural "sections" are differentially incorporated into the public domain (with minimal attention to class formation). Although the bulk of papers addressed Smith's prodigious Caribbean output, Africanists engaged his historical ethnographies of Islamic emirates in Northern Nigeria, where he had initially conducted his dissertation research under the direction of Daryll Forde, at University College London.² In Douglass Hall's felicitous phrasing (Hall 1997), M.G. Smith was "a man divided": between West Africa and the British West Indies, social anthropology and poetry, rationalism and romanticism, academia and Jamaican politics, and his legendary mood swings.³ Such inner conflicts and contradictions, I am sure, informed his ethnographic insights into the regulative principles of sociopolitical organization and the destabilizing dynamics of power and desire. One well-known formulation of this dialectic—of segmentary politics (power) and hierarchical administration (authority)—lies at the heart of his theory of government, first formulated in his Curl Bequest Prize-winning essay "On Segmentary Lineage Systems" (Smith 1956) and applied systematically to the Zaria emirate (Smith 1960). Much less known, but no less significant, is his discussion of lesbianism and patriarchy in Carriacou (Smith 1962).

¹ Orlando Patterson dropped a bomb in his keynote lecture when he maintained that M.G. sexually consummated his desire for his mother figure, Edna Manley. Members of the Smith and Manley families in attendance were visibly upset, and Patterson suffered subsequent social death at the conference, although the question of Smith's vexed relationship to Edna, evident in Hall (1997), is by no means trivial.

² See Meeks (2011) for an excellent selection of these papers.

³ I was M.G.'s last dissertation advisee to finish while he was still alive during his final appointment in anthropology at Yale. He was a wonderful advisor, although I also experienced his dark side.

The publication of M.G. Smith's *Kinship and Community in Carriacou* (1962) was not exactly a watershed in Caribbean ethnography. For one thing, it took island marginality to new extremes. A dependency of Grenada on the periphery of the periphery, the Carriacou of 1953—when Smith conducted his fieldwork—was ethnically homogeneous, relatively unstratified, and tiny, with a population of just over six thousand living on thirteen square miles of land. If for Smith such a society writ small was a scientific virtue, allowing a “systematic study” of 224 households and “the mating histories” of their adult members (Smith 1962:6), the book appealed to specialists in kinship and family studies but had no major impact on Caribbeanists more broadly.⁴ The book was also written in M.G.'s often tedious style, combining mechanical prose with endless charts and statistical tables offset by those glimpses of local color and ethos that occasionally punctured the gloom. Indeed, his copious field notes reveal an extraordinary sensitivity to lived experience that rarely surfaces in the published text.⁵ Nonetheless, as Barrow (2011) has recently argued, *Kinship and Community in Carriacou* re-emerges in hindsight as an important, possibly pivotal text, by addressing female sexuality and institutionalized lesbianism in systemic sociocultural terms. Although framed in the hetero-normative language of sexual and statistical “deviance” and “abnormality,” Smith's discussion of sexual desire and lesbian relationships—as Barrow (2011:150–52) has argued—opened up a space for separating female sexuality from official gender ideologies and roles more focused on fertility and respectability.⁶

If Smith's own perspective remained subordinated to the imperatives of patriarchy in Carriacou, his material reveals the stirrings of a social theory of sexuality, in which lesbianism figures as a form of sexual shape-shifting associated with the gendered witchcraft idioms of the *lougrou* and the

⁴ Of the six reviews that came out during the following two years (Balicki 1963, Nutini 1963, Rodman 1963, Rossi 1963, William-Ellis 1964, and Wilson 1964), only those by Rossi and Wilson substantially engage Smith's study. Raymond T. Smith offers perceptive criticisms in an important review essay of the broader literature (Smith 1963).

⁵ I thank Mary Smith for access to these notes in 1995.

⁶ Smith was not the first to note lesbianism among Caribbean “folk,” but he was the first to treat it systematically. As Wekker (1999:121) points out, a similar relationship, called “mati work” and “mati play” in Suriname, was first documented by the Dutch official Schimelpenninck van der Oye (see Roos 1912), followed by Comvalius (1935) and Herskovits & Herskovits (1936). Kempadoo (2003:75) notes that Herskovits & Herskovits (1947:128) briefly discuss “making *zanmi*” as a form of lesbianism in Trinidad.

sukuyan. Central to my reinterpretation of Smith's argument and material is a model of sexual economy that relates "mating patterns" and male out-migration to transactional pathways of gifts, money, and blood. Such a model by no means privileges a simple exchange of sexual services for money or gifts, although such transactions are included, but embraces a broader framework of desires, dispositions, and conversions that relate male and female sexuality to socially reproductive value. I should emphasize that Smith's position, if not wrong, was incomplete, excluding the complementary dynamics of female empowerment and agency in lesbian relationships.

Culture, Demography, and Sexuality

Kinship and Community in Carriacou is unusual among M.G. Smith's West Indian studies in two key respects. First, it is not theoretically framed by a specific question or hypothesis, in contrast, for example, to his *Stratification in Grenada* (Smith 1965a); and second, it focuses on a relatively "homogenous" society in contrast to the "plural societies" which consumed so much of his attention (Smith 1965b). The specific theoretical positions which Smith does critically engage with reflect battles he fought over the years; namely, his life-long critique of identifying New World "African survivals" as pioneered by Melville J. Herskovits, and his intellectual antipathy toward R.T. Smith, whose focus on the developmental cycles of matrifocal family types was for M.G. misguided in Carriacou.⁷ M.G.'s primary agenda, however, was both intensive and comparative. As a former French and then British plantocracy whose estate owners left after emancipation in 1838, Carriacou remained culturally Creole, with French *patois* and "broken" English, Christianity and ancestor worship, official monogamy and extraresidential mating, and English civil law and customary folk practices—including Big Drum ceremonies with African nations—forming a "systematic duality" of cultural registers among an ethnically homogenous population. What interested Smith was the island's *lack* of racial and ethnic pluralism, exemplifying "the simplest units of the Creole social continuum"

⁷ For Smith's methodological corrective to Herskovits, with its barrage of criteria for establishing African legacies in the Caribbean, see Smith 1957.

(Smith 1962:4) according to his plural society scheme. In this respect, a study of Carriacou's kinship system would reveal fundamental principles of cultural adaption and integration without the undue elite interference found in Grenada, Trinidad, or Martinique. Not that the island was economically isolated. On the contrary, the local economy depended upon remittances from male out-migration for the century and a half following emancipation, generating a demographically skewed sex ratio wavering between two and three adult women to men. What interested Smith was how, under such demographic strain, a localized "mating" system fostered "the most clearly organised family structure in this culture area" (Smith 1962:5)—one which extended beyond the household to form Carriacou "bloods" or agnatic lineages.

M.G. was therefore concerned with local solutions to the demographic challenges of male out-migration from an island where wage labor and economic opportunities were extremely limited. His primary focus was on family structure and mating patterns, and how these established integrative mechanisms for the community at large. Smith's copious documentation reveals what he considered to be a single system based on key arrangements and values. Official monogamy, recognized by church and state, was the preferred conjugal form, marked by formal betrothals, elaborate weddings, and virilocal residence in "wooden" houses associated with agnatic lineages. Such marriages were costly, and required social, economic, and ritual investments that many men could not easily afford. Those who accumulated the necessary capital often did so overseas, and became locked into patterns of migrant wage labor to sustain their families through remittances. To accommodate the surplus of women to men, a modified form of "monogamy" allowed married men to establish extraresidential mating relations with unmarried women, usually in different villages, while assuming financial responsibilities for such "keptresses" and their "outside children." Socially recognized if legally unofficial, such unions gave rise to matrifocal residences in less prestigious "dirt" houses made from daub and wattle. Finally, a third pattern of "keeping" emerged, in which couples cohabited in the woman's house, seen as a prelude to betrothal and marriage but sometimes stalled in a tenuous holding pattern that significantly limited male autonomy. "Whereas the husband is dominant in marriage," Smith (1962:217) writes, "the woman is the dominant partner in keeping" since "kept" men were barred from extraresidential mating and they lost

child custody when such unions dissolved. Statistically infrequent and structurally unstable, keeping posed a problem for patriarchy. His masculinity compromised, “the male member of such a union is accordingly mocked and teased and is not regarded as a full household head” (Smith 1962:118).

It is within the patriarchal framework of these mating patterns that Smith situates his discussion of lesbianism. With a high cultural value placed on female fidelity, Smith argued, women developed lesbian relationships of the *madivine* and *zami*, remaining “faithful” to their husbands while satisfying their own sexual “needs.”⁸ In this manner, men working away from the island for as long as ten years at a stretch could return to Carriacou with their honor—and households—intact. The system was reinforced by patrilineages or “bloods” that enabled resident agnates to keep an eye on such wives, referred to as “grass widows” while their husbands were abroad. Thus the dual imperatives of female sexuality and fidelity were fulfilled.⁹

Let us turn to Smith’s own account, which I quote at some length, since it not only summarizes his structural argument but also points beyond it, toward an incipient model of a sexual economy—involving complementary “currencies” of money and blood—which we can liberate from his text and develop further. Smith opens his discussion in straightforward demographic terms:

Married men often remain overseas for considerable periods, and sometimes they never return. Unless they intend desertion, they remit money to their wives and families in Carriacou as regularly as they can, and in this way maintain the marriage relation, fulfil their obligations, and demonstrate their wish to return. Nonetheless the grass-widows suffer sexual deprivation. Such women know the consequence of unfaithfulness too well to risk it. They rarely live alone unless they are pregnant or have several small children. To recall their husbands they generally allege some illness, but if this fails they may establish homosexual relations with other women.

Women who practise such homosexual relations are referred to in the French patois as *madivine* or *zami*. Not all *madivines* are married by any means, but many are said to have adopted this habit during their husbands’ absence overseas. Unwed girls may also enter such relations while living as wards of their senior collateral kinswomen.

⁸ As Barrow (2011:152) notes, for Smith female sexuality “is constructed more as urge and appetite than expression of desire and pleasure.”

⁹ Donald R. Hill has suggested that institutionalized lesbianism may have broken down by 1970 because more women were migrating and had access to cash (NWIG reader’s report).

Once developed, these Lesbian appetites may reduce the woman's interest in men considerably and eventually lead to a breach in the marriage relation. The active partner is always the elder, and has usually been married. Senior Lesbians may have several partners who must be kept apart to avoid the disorder that their jealousy provokes. The men are well aware of these relations but dare not discuss them with the women's husbands. Men say that "women are hotter than men"—that is, they have stronger sexual appetites—and consequently only women can satisfy each other. Female homosexuality is explained thus, and its existence is taken to prove this explanation. But, in fact, men often marry women several years their junior and then depart overseas, having imposed severe prohibitions on their wives' heterosexual relations, with the result that some wives adopt Lesbianism as the only alternative open . . . Once women cultivate this particular habit, they are unlikely to abandon it lightly. (Smith 1962:199-200)

At first read, Smith explains Carriacou lesbianism as a response to the pressure of male out-migration on female fidelity and sexuality. Understood locally in terms of stronger female "heat," objectively it developed as a cultural solution to demographic pressures on marriage and mating.¹⁰ For this reason, Smith (1962:200) maintains, "there is no male counterpoint to female homosexuality in Carriacou" because no sociocultural imperatives required it.¹¹

In effect, Carriacou Lesbianism is a form of deviance stimulated by the island culture and partially institutionalised in it; its existence demonstrates the remarkable constraint imposed on women by the mating system. The fidelity of Carriacou wives is the pride of their men and the puzzle of nearby Grenadians; but the Lesbianism which has developed in this context is not well known abroad. We have here a neat example of the way in which a culture and society may promote abnormalities among normal folk; and some knowledge of these abnormalities is necessary for a full understanding of this complex mating organisation, which is permissive for males, restrictive to females. (Smith 1962:200)

¹⁰ The argument remains cultural rather than demographic because of the value placed on female fidelity among wives and keptresses. See also Smith (1966:xxxix-xli) where he criticizes the demographic thesis of Otterbein (1965).

¹¹ The empirical validity of this claim raises important issues that only further research can resolve. Male homosexuality may well have existed at this time, but may have been more socially stigmatized and thus better disguised. Or it may have occurred beyond the horizons of explicit cultural categorization, as in areas of West Africa. In the early 1970s Donald Hill documented a gay Grenadian couple whom Carriacou men "considered amusing," and who seduced local teenage boys "for money." Besides this case, he added, "no other male homosexuality in Carriacou was discovered" (Hill 1977:281). Hill also objected to Smith's description of Carriacou lesbianism in terms of "deviance" and "abnormality" since such terms clashed with local understandings (Hill:280-81).

Notwithstanding the patriarchal register of sexual “abnormality” and “deviance” characteristic of the day, Smith’s discussion of lesbianism as partially institutionalized made space for a sociocultural approach to sexuality that can be extended beyond the dictates of patriarchal authority—the fidelity of wives—to embrace the empowering and disruptive dimensions of female eroticism and agency. To do this, we relocate female sexuality within the more transactional arenas of fertility, witchcraft and economic exchange in Carriacou.

Money, Gifts, and Blood

Economic opportunities for women in Carriacou were extremely limited, given that men dominated in the spheres of subsistence agriculture, fishing, and artisanal trades of shipbuilding and repair. Men also remitted funds from abroad, forging links between local and global economic orders by working throughout the Caribbean and further afield in England and North America. The articulation of external and internal economies was thus largely gendered, since male remittances to fiancés, keptresses and wives were largely committed to households where women ruled as domestic managers. According to the normative patterns of residential and extraresidential mating, women remained faithful in their conjugal unions in exchange for social recognition and economic security.

For island women, therefore, sexuality was a key avenue for gaining access to cash. Since, as Smith (1962:116) explains, “women are virtually excluded from the exchange economy of Carriacou, and depend on men for most of the money they need or receive,” they relied on their “facilities” in a range of sexual strategies that formed a moral continuum from betrothal and marriage down to commercial prostitution. As a precursor to the ideal legitimate union, betrothal was closely chaperoned, marked by regular visits and a flow of gifts to the intended bride, and by the approval of her parents. Premarital sex among betrothed couples was tolerated since pregnancy before marriage was valued as a kind of fertility insurance, although it also carried risks to social reputation if the engagement broke off afterwards. A successful union with a wedding ceremony would set up residence in a new wooden house provided by the husband, who assumed responsibility for domestic finances, and whose children belonged

to his agnatic blood. In socially recognized extraresidential conjugal unions regarded as less prestigious and secure, women received gifts “in cash, kind, or labour” (Smith 1962:222) designated specifically for themselves and their children, and resided in dirt houses rather than wooden houses. Such arrangements were subordinate to co-residential marriage, and less formalized: “Despite the help she receives from the man, the woman who mates extra-residentially has to provide for most her own needs, and there is no fixed pattern of economic cooperation since these unions vary widely in character and context” (Smith 1962:223).

For younger women in Carriacou neither engaged nor established in extraresidential mating relations, sexual strategies within the field of social and economic capital ranged from taking lovers to commercial prostitution. Here we encounter a descending scale in which sex was increasingly commodified. Single women seeking romantic opportunities would take “gentlemen” who offered monetary gifts called “principle” in exchange for the girlfriend’s “facilities.” It was important that such transactions were disguised by gifts, offered irregularly as signs of affection rather than as payments for sexual access. By accumulating such principles a woman could achieve considerable social and economic independence, enabling her to “buy her own clothes, household supplies, and small stock, or rent her own garden” (Smith 1962:117). Moreover, a woman managing multiple lovers accumulated more gifts than her betrothed counterparts, although by maximizing such gains she risked her reputation since jealous boyfriends could “broadcast her name,” lowering her social capital by labeling her as promiscuous. The negative valuations of providing principle increased in proportion to the woman’s easy virtue, when such sex was referred to as “paid-for-time” (Smith 1962:193). Not clearly prostitution, the so-called casual relation when increasingly commercialized could lead in that direction. If prostitutes in the strict sense were rare in Carriacou, they were nonetheless socially abhorred, occupying the lowest position in the hierarchy of sexual exchange. As Smith proclaims:

Women who grant their favours indiscriminately on a commercial basis and live by this means are classified as prostitutes... Since prostitutes are outcasts, few girls in Carriacou willingly remain in a situation that allows such gossip about them and instead marry, take a lover, or invite senior kin into their homes to protect their reputations. (Smith 1962:120)

We can thus discern the contours of a sexual economy ranging from legitimate marriage to commercial prostitution, where the exchange of sex for domestic stability and the reproduction of agnatic bloods are most highly valued, and the exchange of sex for money tout court is most negatively stigmatized. It charts a familiar transition from gift to commodity, in which female sexuality is narrowly monetized and stripped from its socially reproductive pathways. Prostitution in Carriacou, however, involved more than commercialized sexual exchange: it took additional forms associated with violations and inversions of patriarchal households and agnatic bloodlines. Exploring these additional forms is important because they relate the blood of sexuality to fertility, witchcraft and social reproduction.

Commercial prostitution was unusual in Carriacou because it presupposed improbable social conditions. "Prostitutes of this kind," Smith (1962:120) explains, "must have land and a wooden house of their own, no senior kin to control them, and other kin willing to assist; but since this combination of conditions is quite unusual, such prostitution is rare." Clearly such prostitutes were quite well off, having the financial means to possess their own land and wooden houses. The social autonomy that such resources conferred was enhanced by the *absence* of controlling senior kinsmen and the presence of "other kin willing to assist." Smith fails to explore the implications of these conditions, but they challenge male patriarchy in important ways. That such prostitutes lived in wooden rather than dirt houses—on land that they owned rather than rented—has major implications for Carriacou household and lineage organization, since post-marital residence in a wooden house was the ideal form of conjugality for perpetuating agnatic descent. By meeting these conditions without husbands or senior kinsmen, such women established powerful matrifocal households with associated kindreds of their own, thereby challenging the "patrilineal" system with incipient female matrilineages or bloods. As we shall see, Smith's material reveals a much greater variation of uterine and materterine kinship patterns than the official agnatic ideology would suggest, and these crop up around female household heads or "principals" who take care of illegitimate children born to them or their kinswomen. Relegated to Appendix B in his study, Smith (1962:330) mentions that "these ties are traced mainly by women through women to women, and since women are the custodians of the unlawful children begotten in extraresidential unions, the majority of the resident collaterals of female principals will be

their kinswomen's illegitimate issue." What we see here is the formation of incipient female bloods or matrilineal lines generated by extraresidential mating, posing a threat to patrilineal descent by drawing away unrecognized offspring. Smith's claim that such children are usually attached to the mother's agnatic kin is obviated by the absence of senior kinsmen around the prostitute's household, providing women full domestic and social authority. The so-called prostitute in her wooden house structurally resembles a male lineage founder. Her crime of selling sex may well be conflated with her appropriation of household and lineage headship. One wonders whether the real crime of such designated prostitutes was the conversion of male into female bloodlines.

Evidence for this more structural reading of prostitution is provided by two further types which Smith identifies in Carriacou. One appears as a structural abomination of keeping patterns of residential mating. We recall that keeping between unmarried men and women was always in the woman's dirt house, and it diminished the man's autonomy and reputation by demanding sexual fidelity and subjecting him to her authority. Keeping was also understood as a step toward marriage, although it could drag on indefinitely or eventually dissolve. If keeping occurred in a wooden house, associated as it would be with the woman and her family, such a woman was classified as a prostitute or "whore."¹² As Smith (1962:119) explains:

According to the social logic of Carriacou, it is self-contradictory for unmarried people to keep in a board house, because keeping is a prelude to marriage, and a board house owned by the couple is the prerequisite for marriage. Thus, by living with an unmarried man as *his keeper* in a wooden house, the woman repudiates the ideal of marriage and accordingly declares herself not a keeper but a whore. (my emphasis)

It is unclear in what sense such a woman "declares herself . . . a whore" since more likely she was referred to as such within the official discourse of patriarchal authority. It is also not clear why living in a wooden rather than a dirt house would make her a "whore" unless one considers the implications

¹² Note the explicit disdain and contempt associated with Smith's slippage from "prostitute" to "whore," most likely reflecting local patriarchal discourse. Although Smith's field notes include extended interviews with women, particularly pertaining to child-rearing and ritual protection, his data on lesbianism come primarily from men, and thus he may confuse male ideologies of lesbianism with the practices themselves.

for agnatic descent. Like her commercial counterpart, the keeping prostitute threatened the perpetuation of patriline. By setting up in a wooden house and *keeping her man*, the woman became a household head with lineage claims on their children and wards.

The final type of prostitution, and according to Smith the most repugnant, was when a woman had sex *and bore children* with two men of the same blood “within the range of second cousins” (Smith 1962:120). If such sexual relations were likened to incest, “the same way that sex relations are taboo between close kin,” the crime appears to have been most closely identified with the birth of two different brothers’ children from the same womb; not with sex itself but the offspring so conceived. Smith writes:

Perhaps prostitution of this sort arouses the greatest horror of all. No mitigating circumstances are taken into account; the woman is branded for life as worthless, while the men who thereby “mixed the blood” are ritually impure and will be punished by the old parents for this breach of “the rule of the blood” . . . Such anomalous sex relations rarely come to light except when there are children. These will belong to their fathers’ blood, despite their irregular conception, but their fathers are more ambivalent about them than others and accordingly contribute less. Meanwhile, the mother will be disowned by any kin she may have in the village. (Smith 1962:120-21)

Clearly this most egregious type of prostitution on the island is defined by the breach of lineage taboos rather than by commodified sex. If the sex acts with male agnates only come to light with the birth of offspring, it is the children per se who confound lineage categories, materializing the impure mixing of blood. For Smith, the disgust triggered by such troubling unions upheld patrilineal descent and lineage exogamy, and further “protect[ed] the lineages against disorganisation through competition over women” (Smith 1962:120). This position, however, is less than convincing. There is nothing intrinsic to the logic of patriliney that is undermined by such cases of “lineage” prostitution since the children remain members of their father’s blood. Indeed, if systems of agnatic descent *sui generis* were structurally vulnerable to such mixings, the widespread incidence of the levirate in patrilineal African societies would be culturally “ungrammatical.” Something else is going on, related to the incipient formation of matrilineal bloods. Like the so-called prostitutes living in wooden houses, the mother of children by two lineage “brothers” threatened the integrity of the agnatic blood because there was something in her own blood that drew

her children into an incipient matriline. If such matrifilial “pulls” were normally counterbalanced by the jural authority of the patrilineage, rare cases of women bearing the children of two lineage brothers had a subversive rechanneling effect, in that such offspring *as a sibling group* shared all of their mother’s blood but only half of their father’s blood in common. Diagrammatically we can see how such sibling groups skewed parental heritage in the mother’s favor, generating stronger maternal bloodlines between the children of close agnates to foster the emergence of matrilineal bloods (Figure 1).¹³ Smith may have overestimated the strictly agnatic character of bloods. Hill (1977:305-6) argues that Carriacou bloods are actually matrilineal, complementary to the agnatic family thereby generating a system of double descent with competing affiliations and sets of demands. From this more fluid bilineal framework, children from extraresidential unions move into their mother’s bloods, “draining” the patriline of its outside progeny.¹⁴

Whereas Smith (1962:121) explains the three types of prostitution in Carriacou as “polar opposites of engagement and marriage,” that is, in relation to the mating system, I have emphasized their implications for empowering women as *de facto* household and lineage heads; that is, as matrilineal challenges to patrilineal descent. To deepen this interpretation, I turn to local ideologies of fertility and witchcraft in relation to blood and sexuality.

Fertility, Witchcraft, and the Blood of Lesbians

Carriacou theories of fertility and conception do not simply mirror ideologies of descent, but relate idioms of sexual exchange to wider spheres of production and circulation. Bringing desire and eroticism into his discussion of conception, Smith sketches a libidinal economy of the body in Carriacou

¹³ Children of such taboo unions—of the same mother and different fraternal fathers (approximating a *de facto* form of Tibetan fraternal polyandry!)—subvert the normal pattern of agnatic lineage segmentation between half-brothers of the same father and different mothers precisely because they are of the same mother and different fathers who share the same blood. Banishing the mother while retaining children of such unions prevents matrilineal fission within the patriline.

¹⁴ Although he did not identify full-fledged matrilineal families, Smith (1962:305) admitted that “the dual mating organization . . . also maintains the cognatic family as an alternative reference group with a more variable form and function.”

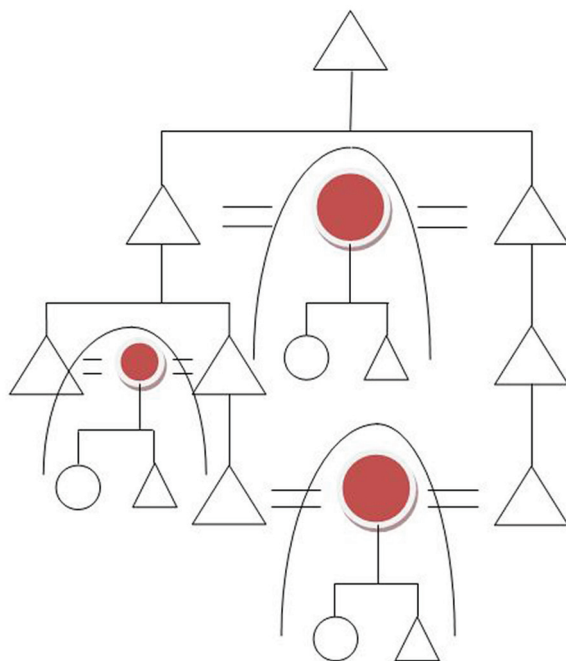


Figure 1. Lineage “prostitution” as the mixing of “fraternal” blood.

etiologies of procreation. Women are hotter than men, we are told, because they have stronger sexual appetites, even if held to a higher standard of heterosexual fidelity. A woman’s heat is in her blood, which will rise to her head and cause severe headaches after long periods of abstinence. Such women were advised to “take exercise”—or “copulate” (Smith 1962:132)—and were known to summon their overseas husbands on doctor’s orders for sexual healing. As we have seen, it is in this context of libidinal necessity that lesbian relations were ambivalently accepted, keeping women healthy while their husbands were away. But here I wish to highlight how the blood of women combined fertility with the pleasure principle, since a fit and fertile woman required blood circulating properly throughout her body, sustained by regular “exercise.” Indeed, conception involved the reciprocal exchange of blood and pleasure between the sexes. According to Smith (1962:132), “Many also believe that conception can only occur at simultaneous orgasm.”

If female blood is sexually stronger according to Carriacou accounts, male blood has a stronger vital principle in creating new life. Smith elicits a number of statements that uphold the ideology of agnatic descent. "We are one blood from the father. Is the father that make children . . . A woman only convey children, that is what the womb is for." Other analogies from the local economy recapitulate this dogma through different figures: "If you have a cow and don't bring it to the use of the bull, you don't get no calf . . . The man make the children, the women only bear them." Smith (1962:268) further recounts: "The man 'gives' the woman the child as 'seed'; the child owes its being to its father and has its father's blood, blood being the symbol of vitality and life. The woman 'conveys' (carries) the child in her womb as a schooner conveys passengers." And finally, "women cannot transmit the blood, only men can." Smith points out a subtle distinction between men "giving" and "making" the child in two of these accounts, but he is not sure what to do with it. His examples, however, deploy images of male production in the "making" of new life, and of exchange—in the form of "giving" seed but also of conveying people and commodities. In one account the womb is likened to a schooner that conveys passengers, as if adding exchange value to productive male seed. In a similar explanation collected by Hill (1977:305): "a man 'cannot make no baby without the woman. For the woman is supposed to be the basket that carries the goods from the market. The man has the money to put the goods in the basket.'" In this procreative parable of commodity exchange, the male sperm is equated to money itself, which purchases the "goods" that are brought home from the market in the woman's basket-like womb.

Thus we see three expressions of production, gift-giving and monetary exchange in the sexual economy of human reproduction; one that maximizes pleasure, maintains circulation, and produces new life through the proper mixing of blood. Infertile couples are afflicted with "a fault in the blood" (Smith 1962:133), or worse, are victims of blood-draining witchcraft that sucks up fetuses and also devours newborns. As *blocked* exchange, witchcraft, or *kakomé*, is the inverse of fertility, draining life and consuming blood to sabotage childbirth and delivery. Its essence is negative reproductive potential, which in the sphere of sexuality involves cannibalism, sterility, and mystical shape-shifting. Smith discusses three kinds of witch that prey upon infants and abort new life. The first two are nocturnal shape-shifters; the male *lougarou* (from the French *loup-garou*, or werewolf) and

the female *sukuyan* “who roam abroad at night and suck the blood from sleeping humans and beasts... [they] are old or middle-aged persons who live nearby and have the power of metamorphosis through witchcraft” (Smith 1962:89). The *sukuyan* is known to shed her skin and adopt the form of various animals. A third kind of predatory spirit *LaJablesse* (the *diablesse*, or devil-woman) does not consume the blood of the living, but represents “sirens with cloven hoofs, who destroy the men they enchant by making them mad” (Smith 1962:89). Part human and part beast, they cast seductive spells based on *unproductive* sexuality and thwarted delivery. The *jablesse* is said to manifest the souls of women who died in childbirth, and had also destroyed their own fetuses. In one account collected by Smith, “the numerous little pigs that follow these cloven-hoofed beauties are the infants they aborted while alive” (Smith 1962:133).

It is within this corporeal economy of fertility and witchcraft that Carriacou lesbianism takes on new meanings, less amenable to patriarchal authority than Smith’s “adaptive” interpretation suggests. It is to Smith’s credit that the richness of his ethnography allows us to recast lesbianism as a variety of witchcraft in which the blood of female sexuality opposes that of fertility. Consider two taboos pertaining to pregnant women. The first points to the cannibalistic appetites of pregnant wombs when intimately aligned: “Two pregnant women must never sleep together, since the child of one will ‘suck the blood’ of the other, thus causing a stillbirth” (Smith 1962:134). Here we see the witchcraft potential of all pregnancies when the blood of wombs is insufficiently insulated from the appetites of other fetuses. Moreover, the prohibition is generalized to all fertile women whether pregnant or not. “By implication,” Smith adds, “this means that no women should sleep together before the menopause” (Smith 1962:134). The *madivines* and *zamis* of lesbian relationships are thus implicitly witchlike since their wombs and bloodlines are dangerously close and can become inadvertently entwined. The second taboo simply states that “no ‘long-foot woman’ may step over the legs of a pregnant woman, or the delivery will be made more difficult.” Carriacouans believe that taller, long-foot women have greater difficulty during childbirth than “short-foot” women, “and if a long-foot woman steps over the legs of a pregnant short-foot, she transmits these difficulties” (Smith 1962:134-35). Smith mentions that lesbianism on the island “may provide a possible ground for these restrictions,” but we can read the prohibition from the other direction, as a commentary on the

dangers that lesbianism—like witchcraft—poses to safe pregnancies and deliveries.¹⁵

Lesbians, like witches, can thus sabotage childbirth and absorb a fetus from another womb, thereby diverting and consuming the blood of reproductive pathways. A man can lose his issue to his wife's lesbian lover, who not only consumes it through her womb, but appropriates it into her own bloodline; snatching the child, as it were, from her lover's husband and incorporating it into her own lineage blood. Nor are such appropriative pathways limited to children, but equally apply to flows of money and gifts. Smith describes how the wives of wealthy men redirect their economic support into gifts for their lesbian lovers, weakening the marriage itself while establishing the wife's authority vis-à-vis her lovers:

Lesbians exchange gifts, the senior receiving perfume, as becomes a male in this culture, while the junior is given earrings, underwear, and the like. The wives of prosperous men may have several junior partners since they can afford the necessary gifts. If these women reject their husbands, their marriages may break down, as in this case. A rich man's wife had an attractive partner. The wife rejected her husband's attentions, and he then made advances to her Lesbian mate. Being well off, he left his wife, acquired another home, and moved there with his wife's concubine . . . The man's wife lost some of her influence with younger women in consequence of his withdrawal of economic support. (Smith 1962:200-201)

In this telling passage, the husband effectively re-appropriated the resources diverted by his wife to her lover, at the expense, however, of the marriage itself. Rejecting his wife and taking up with her "concubine" in another home, he blocked his wife's access to his wealth and reestablished control over his domestic gifts and finances. The abandoned wife, in turn, lost influence among the younger *zamis*, whom she could no longer satisfy with gifts. A strong *madivine* requires redistributive resources. Like the wood-house prostitute, she could become a household head with resident kinsmen, junior wards, and other men's wives share-tending and share-cropping her property (Smith 1962:205). In such uterine households of female community and solidarity, sexuality itself devolved through female

¹⁵ Wyatt MacGaffey (personal communication) has informed me that the expression "stepping over the legs" in Kikongo refers to sexual intercourse, suggesting a direct connection between lesbianism and problematic delivery.

bloodlines. Not only was the proclivity for lesbian love understood as inherited from mother to daughter, but sexual relations between *madivines* and their adopted junior kinswomen were accepted, without violating incest prohibitions.¹⁶ Lesbian love was a double-edged gift. It could sustain patriarchal households with absent husbands by preserving the marital fidelity of wives, but it could also destroy such households—by rechanneling their resources and appropriating their blood.

Conclusion

Smith's patriarchal interpretation of Carriacou lesbianism upholds a sexual double standard for men and women on the island. If men are permitted extraresidential mating and the freedom to indulge in outside affairs, women must remain faithful as keptresses and wives, and can take lesbian lovers to maintain heterosexual fidelity. Thus, Smith (1962: 216) argued, "Carriacou women are not feminists and cannot conceive of sexual equality." Following the flows of money, gifts and blood through the transactional pathways of the sexual economy, however, a more feminist interpretation of lesbianism emerges in which women control their own resources and sexuality.¹⁷ As Barrow (2011:152) has already demonstrated for Smith's landmark study, "if we read between the lines, women's sexual agency is constructed as a potentially disruptive force, a challenge to the norms of male dominance, the gender double standard and heteronormativity." Narrowing her approach, I have located my own reading between the lineages. Indeed, if women can appropriate both the blood and bloodlines of men, lesbianism, like witchcraft, represents a form of collective agency and empowerment. By diverting money, gifts, and blood into female households and lineages, the lesbian—like the wood-house prostitute—re-channels male reproductive pathways. In this capacity, the *madivine* is a sexual shape-shifter. Like the nocturnal *sukuyan* or cloven-hoofed *jablesse*, she

¹⁶ For similar relations between older senior and much younger junior partners among Afro-Surinamese women, understood as "initiation into the mati work," see Wekker (2006: 184-87).

¹⁷ The Carriacou musician, choreographer, and playwright Winston Fleary explained that lesbianism is most common among entrepreneurial women of the Ibo and Temne nations on the island because they resent and resist male interference with their financial affairs, and in their lives more generally (interview in Carriacou, June 3, 2013).

changes into something else. Recall Smith's glimpse of lesbian prestations: "Lesbians exchange gifts, the senior receiving perfume, as *becomes a male* in this culture, while the junior is given earrings, underwear, and the like" (1962: 200, my emphasis). Here we see how the spirit of the gift, redirected from male into female pathways, transforms lesbian lovers into seniors and juniors, butches and femmes, husbands and wives, and thus senior lesbians into "men."

Support for this shape-shifting aspect of lesbianism associated with the blood of mothers comes from writer-poet Audre Lorde, herself the daughter of a Carriacou lesbian, who repossessed her matrilineal heritage by embracing her queer sexuality. As DiBernard (1991:216) explains:

There is a strain within black feminist literary criticism which names strength and woman-identification in black women as "lesbian." Barbara Smith, Lorraine Bethel, and Wilmette Brown all take this approach. In this view, as well as in Lorde's, the lesbian is "not-woman"; that is, she is a female who does not play out her societally defined role as powerless, giving primary allegiance to men.

In Audre Lorde's *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*, powerful "Black dykes" who bend their gender form a migratory matriline from New York City back to Carriacou, where women "work together as friends and lovers" to build female solidarity and community. If these women manage households, pool resources, share root work, and challenge patriarchy, the secret of their power *is* their lesbian sexuality, which devolves from mothers to daughters. In the very last sentence of her "biomythography," Lorde writes of her maternal homeland, "There it is said that the desire to lie with other women is a drive from the mother's blood" (Lorde 1996:224). Perhaps it is time to revisit the debates on Caribbean kinship and household organization with witchcraft, sexuality, and the blood of lesbians in mind.¹⁸

¹⁸ See e.g., Blackwood (2005) for a significant move in this direction. For a bold and innovative ethnography of lesbian relationships among Afro-Surinamese in both Suriname and the Netherlands, see Wekker (2006).

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The Devil Wears Dockers: Devil Pacts, Trade Zones, and Rural-Urban Ties in the Dominican Republic

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Abstract

This essay examines popular narratives that a spirit demon or *bacá* lurked in an export garment plant in the Santiago trade zone of the Dominican Republic in the early 2000s. By interpreting the *bacá* story, and the transformation of the *bacá* itself from a rural context to an urban factory, we unpack the changing nature and meaning of employment under neoliberal capitalism, and tease apart complex geographies of status, exploitation, technology and debt.

Keywords

Dominican Republic, Haiti, sorcery, trade zone

Introduction

This essay examines popular narratives that an evil *bacá*¹ lurked in an export garment plant in the Santiago trade zone in the Dominican Republic in the early 2000s.² *Bacás* are spirit demons created via sorcery which are

¹ *Bacá* is the Spanish spelling, while in Haitian Kreyol it is *baka*.

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popular expressions of a range of social concerns. In this case, however, the bacá represented a devil pact which explained the wealth accumulated by the plant owner whose business expanded from a few hundred workers to several thousand in a few short years, until the company's demise in 2006 as capital flows shifted to Asia.³ The story of the bacá surfaced when several workers died at home and at the plant. Rumors of blood in the toilets, in stacks of clothes in production, and sightings of a little black figure smoking a cigar circulated widely in the plant and the trade zone, sparking popular panic, leading some workers to abandon their jobs and forcing the plant to suspend its night shift. Our account of the bacá story emerged in separate fieldwork interviews with former workers in Santiago and the rural frontier town, Bánica. We examine the meanings of this story as it shifted from a rural to an urban context, where the story underwent several transformations as narrated by Abercio Alcántara, a rural denizen of a small town in the Dominican frontier zone who worked as a sewer and then supervisor in this assembly plant until its close when he returned to the border. By interpreting the bacá story, and the transformation of the bacá itself from a rural context to an urban factory, we unpack the changing nature and meaning of employment under neoliberal capitalism, and tease apart complex geographies of status, exploitation, technology, and debt. We relate the appearance of the bacá to economic change during a moment of transition.

We also seek to contribute to broader debates about the relationship between witchcraft and modernity, with the caveat that, as Sidney Mintz

as other research assistance during fieldwork in the central frontier town of Bánica, Katherine Smith and Georges René for opening doors in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, during multiple research trips, and Andrew Apter for help in developing certain formulations. Marion Werner's contribution is based on one year of research on trade zone transformations based in Santiago, funded by the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change at the University of Minnesota. She is grateful to the Fundación Laboral Dominicana in Santiago for their help and support in researching the bacá at Interamericana. This essay was presented at the Caribbean Studies Association Meetings in a panel on "Animal Rites: Cultural Crossings on Hispaniola," June 2, 2011, Curaçao; as well as the Hispaniola Symposium, Glendon College, Toronto, March 5, 2011. We also wish to thank the insightful commentaries by the anonymous reviewers for *New West Indian Guide*.

³ On Latin American devil-pact narratives, see Crain 1991, Edelman 1994, and Taussig 2010 [orig. 1980].

(1974:46) reminds us, the Caribbean has been modern since its inception.⁴ A “colonial amalgam of European design,” one born in the shadow of the plantation, the Caribbean was peopled to serve the needs of industrial capital. Thus it confounds antimonies such as tradition versus modernity, and even rural versus urban, since colonial labor regimes were characterized by high levels of mechanization and an industrial timeclock. As a colonial backwater, however, the Dominican Republic maintained an autonomous subsistence peasantry in the interior far longer than most Caribbean nations, and there was considerable autonomy from the market in the frontier given its longstanding dependence upon contraband with Haiti, which makes the distinction between rural and urban more salient in this context than elsewhere. And perhaps as a result in the Dominican Republic, notwithstanding the fact that individual lives have long traversed the bounds of the rural/urban divide, the wily *bacá* consistently appears as a beast in rural contexts, while in urban areas it presents as a *muchachito* or little man.

We argue that excavating the moral of this story for workers is a means of uncovering the emotional toll of the rise and fall of assembly labor, thus what might be termed the “structure of feeling” of neoliberalism for the working poor (Williams 1977:132). As Luise White (2000:41) has said, “vampire stories are matters not so much of belief as of details: the stories are false, but the names and places and tools in them are true, and the stories are about the real fears those places and tools aroused.” In this case, the *bacá* may enable us a glimpse of some of the unspoken rage and dread evoked by the experience of factory labor under neoliberalism, in response to its mysteriously abrupt arrival and departure, its use of machinery, its gendered transformations, and the industrial rhythm of labor on the shop-floor. As such, the *bacá* gave voice to the inexpressible, producing a “contagion of feeling” around an ill-defined sense of collective apprehension, unpredictability, and latent danger (Fine & Turner 2001:17; Seigworth & Gregg 2010:8).

An interpretation of the mystery of the *bacá* in the assembly plant, however, must commence with a definition of the *bacá* itself. *Bacás* are quintessentially rural shapeshifter demons that usually appear as animals—as

⁴ For a sampling of this now extensive literature, see Comaroff & Comaroff 1993, Geschiere 1997, Sanders 2003, and Shaw 2002.

boars, cattle or dogs and only occasionally as little black men; this is apparent in the classic folkloric and anthropological treatments of the bacá/baka, as well as in our own interviewing.⁵ They are frequently hybrid creatures—goats with pig's tails, cows that speak, dogs seen swinging in hammocks—a reminder that they are people who have been changed into animals, and their natural theater is the countryside. But that is only half the story since they are patently not a product of the natural world. They are spirit demons created by sorcerers, which at times are said to enable individuals to amass extraordinary wealth. They can also be sent to steal others' livestock, wages, or the bloom from ones' crops and thus can represent a form of supernatural class warfare.⁶ While their shapeshifting might lend one to define them as creole werewolves, the prevalence of blood imagery in these accounts, as we elaborate upon below, renders them closer to vampires.⁷ These beliefs invite comparison to the troublesome duppy spirits found in the British West Indies which can cause illness or make money multiply; they can also be used to sway court cases, or be affixed to trees for protection (Paton & Forde 2012:208, 257). While bacá beliefs and practices are ubiquitous on both sides of the island, Haitians are seen as uniquely skilled in the magical arts due to the colonial "race-marking project" that defined their African-derived heterodox practices as illegitimate.⁸ In Haiti, the baka does not suck blood per se but it requires human sacrifice, and thus "eats people" in exchange for wealth (*manje moun* being a Haitian

⁵ The baka appears in classic Haitian ethnographic accounts such as Deren 1953, Hurbon 1988:260-261 and Hurbon 1995, McCarthy Brown 1991:143, Métraux 1959:288. For more Dominican bacá stories, see De Pree 1989 and Labourt 1982:183. This statement is based upon Derby's ten weeks of research from 2008-13 in the rural central frontier region of Bánica, over one month of research in the urban context of Port-au-Prince on diabolical animal narratives, and over three years of previous research in Santo Domingo and the Haitian-Dominican frontier. The stories Derby has collected on both sides of the border over the past five years are virtually identical in form and content. Urban bacá narratives are also treated in Chapter 6 of Derby's *The Dictator's Seduction* (2009).

⁶ They also never appear as wolves, which are not indigenous to Hispaniola. This version is presented in the documentary by Martha Ellen Davis, *The Dominican Southwest: Crossroads of Quisqueya and Center of the World*. Gainesville FL: Ethnica Productions, 2004.

⁷ While in Slovenia the werewolf and the vampire were distinct creatures, they are clearly conjoined in their associations with blood and death since upon its demise, the werewolf became a vampire; see Dundes 1998 and Summers 2001.

⁸ Putnam (2012:263) makes this point about Obeah. For a history of the antisuperstition campaigns in Haiti, see Ramsey 2011.

term for sorcery). The bacá can thus be located within the domain of Latin American devil pact lore, as part of a larger diabolical bestiary that might include the Andean *pishtaco*, the Puerto Rican *chupacabras*, the Bolivian mining spirit, *el tio*, or the West Indian duppy. As many have noted, and we expand upon below in the case of the bacá, these diabolical figures are often associated with foreign powers.⁹

If the bacá legend was a devil-pact tale, then according to Michael Taussig we might interpret this narrative as a moral commentary on the emergence of capitalist wage labor relations from the perspective of a subsistence peasant. In Taussig's classic formulation, the transition to capitalism in Latin America has been incomplete, and combined and uneven development has forged a peasantry that is only partially proletarianized. As a result, wage labor relations are read through a peasant optic which vilifies profit as unnatural, preternatural, and even satanic, since the wealth generated in these accounts is illusory, not real, and slips from one's grasp; and even worse, it causes the death of both people and livestock (Taussig 2010). Given this formulation, it should be no surprise that many believed that the catastrophic loss of life in the 2010 Haitian earthquake was the result of a bacá or its similarly depraved sibling, the lougawou (see McAlister 2012:187-215; Derby 2012). Yet these stories—presented as they were as “brief accounts with few supporting details”—were more rumor than tale, even if they were based upon Gary Alan a traditional genre of oral narrative (Fine & Turner 2001:89). We draw upon Fine's “folklore diamond” as we seek to account for personal motives, social structure, narrative content, and performance dynamics as we interpret the social drama of the bacá in the trade zone (Fine 1992; Fine & Turner 2001:78-79).¹⁰

While stories of the bacá in the assembly plant can be seen as a form of popular commentary on changes in relations of production (following Taussig), we also tease out several other layers of meaning rendered invisible within such a structuralist characterization. In what follows, we explore meanings of wealth and markets peculiar to the commingled histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, on the one hand; and interpretations

⁹ Wachtel 1994, Derby 2008:290-312, Nash 1979, Beck 1979, and Savage 2012. For examples of some of the extensive work on modern witchcraft outside the Latin American context, see Comaroff & Comaroff 1993 and Sanders 2003.

¹⁰ Although since we did not witness the unfolding of the rumor itself, we have to surmise what the performance dynamics may have been.

of phantom wealth through the lens of late neoliberalism and debt flows from Latin America to creditors in the North, on the other. Processes of commodification remap relations between regions, nations, and ethnicities, but they do so via earlier historical processes and meanings. Excavating these meanings requires bringing local knowledge to bear upon certain key “clues” in this narrative. As Marshall Sahlins (2000:416-421) has complained of structural analyses of processes of capitalist development, “one searches here in vain for a sustained analysis of how local peoples attempt to organize what is afflicting them in their own cultural terms . . . A history of the world system, therefore, must discover the culture mystified in the capitalism.” The *bacá*, then, is a sign through which we might uncover the vernacular meanings within which shifts in local accumulation, as well as the country’s position in global flows of capital, were understood.

Trade Zones, Labor, and Phantom Accumulation

Despite one of the highest growth rates in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic has been suffering a sustained labor crisis for three decades. Structural adjustment, Ronald Reagan’s late cold-war trade policy, and drastic cuts to U.S. sugar import quotas hurtled the Dominican economy toward light manufacturing and tourism to generate new sources of foreign exchange in the 1980s. North American buyers and local and foreign investors were attracted by trade preferences that offered duty-free access to the lucrative U.S. market for goods assembled from U.S.-made parts (Heron 2004). Together with a peso devaluation and a wage freeze, these incentives for foreign capital were implemented at a great human cost, as Dominican wage levels sunk to among the lowest in the Caribbean (Martin, Migley & Teitelbaum 2006:570-592, Morrison & Sinkin 1982:819-836, Safa 1995). Trade zone employment soared as a result: the number of workers increased from 16,000 in three zones at the start of the decade to 135,000 workers in twenty-five zones by 1990. Garment assembly was the main activity in trade zones, initially employing mostly migrant women from rural areas. Despite the trade zone boom, unemployment never dipped below 15 percent and underemployment remained stubbornly high (Sánchez-Fung 2000:163-175). While offering jobs to women, poverty wages made trade zone work unsustainable for the vast majority of those with

children, responsible in part for women's significantly higher unemployment rates (PNUD 2008:262; see also Itzigsohn 2000).

Facing increasing competition from Mexico in the 1990s, garment production in trade zones consolidated geographically and shifted in the make-up of owners and workers alike over the following decade. A handful of Dominican managers in the country's Northern Cibao region took over U.S. firms or started their own, becoming a new, small, and regionally powerful class of owners. As a result, Santiago, the capital city of the Cibao valley, became the country's new garment capital. The city's large trade zone served as a kind of incubator for new Dominican companies cashing in on the still considerable returns to be made on garment exports. As the industry restructured and consolidated in the Cibao in the 1990s, more and more migrant men made their way to work in the trade zones as firms added industrial laundries and other capabilities whose activities were gendered as male, and as more men were incorporated into the labor of sewing itself. Women were increasingly excluded from trade zone jobs where wages were converging with the national average, thus attracting more male workers who faced a deteriorating labor market (PNUD 2005). Moreover, men's sewing labor was being constructed as ideal as the industry shifted from pure assembly to more "value-added" production involving multi-skilled operators and more mechanized pre- and post-assembly capabilities (Safa 2002, Werner 2012).

The importance of the sector to the city and the region's economy was undeniable: in Santiago and the surrounding province, nearly one in six wage workers worked in a trade zone in 2004 despite an already accelerated trend of factory suspensions and closures. From the perspective of owners, the model continued to flourish until the mid-2000s when the multilateral system of quotas that regulated the garment and textile trade was finally phased out under the World Trade Organization. Dominican garment producers, and their regional competitors, now faced the full force of competition from Asian manufacturers for a piece of the already saturated U.S. market (Werner 2012).

In the twilight of Santiago's garment boom in late 2002, the local press reported the presence of an evil *bacá* in the city's main trade zone. The *bacá* was rumored to be lurking in one of the zone's largest firms called Interamericana, owned by a local industrialist, Angel Rosario. Rosario started the business in 1986 when he set up a small leather factory in the

trade zone. He soon switched to garment production and became a steady supplier for Levi's in the late 1980s, producing the latter's popular Dockers brand of casual pants. Other buyers followed Levi's lead, as Santiago and the Cibao trade zones became a main location for casual pants production for the U.S. market, leading industry insiders to nickname the country "la isla de los Dockers" (Dockers' Island). With large, stable orders, Rosario expanded his operations. By 1994, Interamericana employed 5,000 workers and the company continued to grow at breakneck speed. By the end of the decade, an entire new area of the city's trade zone was built to accommodate its operations, and employment soon reached nearly 10,000. Given the high turnover, it would not be an exaggeration to say that tens of thousands of workers from Santiago and the surrounding countryside worked at one time or another at Interamericana.

Urban Rumors . . .

The story of the bacá circulated amongst these thousands of workers at the plant and beyond as recruitment chains, turnover and rural return linked the factory to rural *campos* in the region.¹¹ Several common threads run through the narrative of the bacá as told by former Interamericana workers in Santiago. First, many workers linked the bacá to the sudden deaths of their co-workers at the end of the year. Tomás, an 11-year veteran of Interamericana, worked in finishing, fixing labels to the back pockets and waistbands of pants. He witnessed an industrial accident: a co-worker climbed a ladder to mount something above at the factory the sewing module. The worker fell and broke his neck, a tragedy that some workers attributed to the bacá. Within the same time period, an apparently healthy, young mechanic simply dropped dead one day at the plant. In the same month of December, a cousin of Tomás', a young man who worked at Interamericana, died mysteriously in his sleep at home. Tomás admitted to being afraid but stayed

¹¹ The accounts of the bacá in Interamericana as told by former workers in Santiago formed part of Werner's one year of fieldwork on the decline of the Santiago export garment sector in 2006–2007, and a follow up visit in 2009. Werner conducted interviews and ethnographic work with nearly forty former Interamericana workers over the course of six months following the closure of the factory in December 2006. Additional company history is drawn from three upper management interviews: a company director, the head of finance, and the head of human resources.

on at the company until its closure in 2007.¹² While denying any belief in the *bacá*, Juan Luis, a shoemaker from Santiago and a ten-year sewing machine operator at the plant, said his co-workers linked the suicide of a young Interamericana worker, whose brother played on his baseball team, to the *bacá*. The young evangelical, a rural migrant, had all the appearances of success in the city, Juan Luis explained. He had saved 14,000 pesos, had his own *pasola* and a girlfriend in New York. One day, around the same time as the other deaths just described, he apparently withdrew his savings and gave them, along with his *pasola*, to his mother, before hanging himself from a tree. Juan Luis also mentioned the death of another employee, struck as he fixed his car on the side of the highway while working his second job picking up returning migrants from Spain from the airport.¹³

Jairo, who worked in the prep department on back pockets, discussed how the rumors gave meaning to what people felt were high numbers of fatalities either within, or linked to, the company:

People always said that many people died; that the owner of the company was linked to the devil because so many people died. Everyday, there'd be an accident or someone else who dropped dead . . . So the problems of everyone who worked there got linked to the *bacá* . . . If you worked in the company and you had a brother who died, someone looked for a way to connect it to the *bacá*.¹⁴

These deaths—both those inside the plant and those fatalities that workers linked to the company—created a climate of fear. While only a handful of workers Werner interviewed admitted to being afraid themselves, all agreed that the rumor eventually sparked widespread panic amongst other *zoneros* (trade zone workers), leading many workers to abandon their jobs. Jairo recalls friends in his department who told him they had decided to leave rather than risk death or injury; they said that Jairo was not as worried because he did not have a family to think about.

Several workers recalled security guards abandoning the factory suddenly—leaving their long-barreled guns propped up against the wall—after a rumor that one of them had seen the *bacá* punch the time clock. The *bacá* often made its presence known to the security guard on a Sunday

¹² Interview, February 17, 2007.

¹³ Interview, April 20, 2007.

¹⁴ Interview, February 12, 2007.

when no one was working by turning all the plant lights on, revealing a little black man. The trepidation sparked by the rumor spread throughout the trade zone: Carlos, a veteran *utiliti* (a sub on the assembly line), recalled telling a couple of female friends of openings at the plant. They told him that they were too afraid to work there.¹⁵ Management apparently tried to quell these fears, calling workers, including Carlos and Tomás, into meetings and exhorting them not to spread the rumor. By this time, the local media had gotten wind of the story and reporters were showing up at the factory gates to interview workers about the sightings of the bacá. In fact, Juan Luis and his co-worker José, a 16-year veteran of Interamericana, developed a conspiratorial spin on the events, arguing that the media story had been generated by Santiago's well-known investigative reporter Esteban Rosario, famous for exposing corruption, especially amongst the region's elites, on his weekly news program "Detrás de la Noticia." "The bacá died with 50," José explained: i.e., with the payment of 50,000 pesos by the company to Esteban Rosario.¹⁶

Interestingly, the bacá was associated with specific spaces in the plant, particularly the industrial laundry facility and finishing area where primarily men worked. In particular, the laundry was said to be an area where the bacá lurked in the shadows. When a large number of pants were damaged there, the rumor circulated that the bacá was responsible. At one point, Jairo recalls a rumor that a body had been found in the "bigpac" where pants were stacked for washing. Workers apparently avoided the area.

The fact that this particular area of the plant was a magnet for a malevolent spirit may offer an important clue to its significance. Firstly, the bacá narrative appears to have been foremost a men's story, one which reveals male attitudes toward labor in the trade zones.¹⁷ Secondly, these were the portions of the plant which deployed the most advanced machinery run by workers whose rural backgrounds involved for the most part little technology since plowing was done by oxen, and harvesting and seeding were done by hand with machetes and sticks. Aptly described as "factories in

¹⁵ Interview, February 17, 2007.

¹⁶ Interview, April 21, 2007. In this version, then, the rumor might have been intended to leverage political fear in the sense used by Robin (2004:16).

¹⁷ This contrasts with both Crain's and Taussig's findings in which women stood outside of the production process looking in and were the source of the diabolical rumors about the firms; see Crain 1991 and Taussig 2006:71.

the field,” sugar had brought heavy machinery to the Dominican *campo* in the early twentieth century when large U.S. agribusiness firms built sugar plantations with industrial sugar mills to process cane.¹⁸ However, sugar plantations employed primarily Haitian and West Indian contract labor since Dominicans largely refused incorporation into this back-breaking and underpaid work, so it did not impact local labor culture in a significant way (Moreno Friginals, Moya Pons & Engerman 1985). As such, the *bacá* could be seen as a form of popular commentary on a labor process in which men worked with heavy machinery, and suffered potential dangers associated with the toxic chemicals applied to finish pants and jeans. It also might be a comment on the veiling of the labor process in export free trade zones, and the peculiar way in which many components of trade zone work are hidden, since the product inputs as well as the market, are overseas; a fact which contrasts sharply with rural labor in say animal husbandry, or tobacco production, in which the product is linked organically to the market (see White 1993:27-50). It could also speak to the gendered politics of value at work, as men were promoted at the expense of women in sewing, while also accessing jobs in these new areas of “value added” production like finishing, where this work, gendered as male, yielded particularly high profits for the firm.

Indeed, in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, foreign technology has long attracted rumors of clandestine diabolatry. For example, zombies were said to haunt the Haitian-American Sugar Company (HASCO), which was described during the U.S. occupation of Haiti (1915-34) as “an immense factory plant, dominated by a huge chimney, with clanging machinery, steam whistles, freight cars. It is like a chunk of Hoboken [New Jersey] . . . in the eastern suburbs of Port-au-Prince . . . It is modern big business, and it sounds it, looks it, smells it” (Seabrook 1929:95). These rumors emerged during a period of rapid modernization, when U.S. corporate investment brought railroads, electricity, infrastructure, and vehicles into the interior for the first time, in order to extract resources via plantation production. These novelties, which were ill understood by the population at large, became grist for the rumor mill. Just as the HASCO plant was said to have an army of zombie workers employed there, there was a bridge near

¹⁸ This term seems to have originated as a description of agribusiness (McWilliams 1969), but it is often used to describe the enclave character of industrial sugar plantations in the Caribbean amidst primarily subsistence agriculture.

San Cristóbal—probably built by U.S. Marines—which was said to be haunted by bacás in the form of white dogs or men with extremely large feet; at times even automobiles were said to be bacás (Ubiñas Renville 2000:27).¹⁹ Other rumors concerned La Manicera, a peanut oil processing plant which eventually merged with the Anglo-Dutch consumer goods giant Unilever, where workers were said to be engaging in invisible thievery via bacás, just as an Austrian sausage maker in Port-au-Prince was claimed to be making sausages from the flesh of shoeshine boys.²⁰ A large sisal plant in La Vega became notorious for its zombie workers, as has the Oloffson Hotel in Port-au-Prince which is owned by a man with an American father, Richard Morse Jr.²¹ Another common motif in these narratives is that the wealthy employer is frequently foreign, a variation on the occult wealth creation genre, but one which seeks to explain the preponderant role that foreign capital has played in forging industrial development on the island. In presuming that profit was generated through zombie labor, these stories are a clever adaptation of Marx's labor theory of value—that so much surplus value must have been created through exploiting labor power via spectral labor; they also, of course, render foreign-generated and accumulated surplus value redolent of death. The fact that they link capital accumulation with sorcery speaks to the fact that massive U.S. corporate firms at the turn of the twentieth century brought Haitian and West Indian labor to the Dominican Republic in a way which hierarchically conjoined whiteness and blackness yet also marked them apart for mestizo Dominicans who see themselves as mixed-race *criollos*.²²

Stories of fear, work-related deaths, and inordinate levels of stress punctuated workers' descriptions of the bacá and speak to the experience of neoliberalism, particularly for male workers who appeared especially vulnerable in these accounts. Eusebio, a highly skilled sewer and a 20-year veteran of the industry, was an astute observer of social relations in the

¹⁹ Derby heard about a demonic car during a research trip to Gran Bassin, Haiti, in 1988 with Richard Turits and Édouard Jean-Baptiste.

²⁰ La Manicera was the local nickname for Sociedad Industrial Dominicana (SID) (Bourguignon 1959:38). Derby collected the story about La Manicera from Colón in October, 2008, in Bánica.

²¹ Raymundo González, interview, 2010; and interview with guide translating for tourists at the Oloffson Hotel, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, November 3, 2008.

²² Similar to, but distinct from, "creoles." For more on race in the Dominican Republic, see Candelario 2007, Derby 2003, and Torres-Saillant 1998.

trade zone. For Eusebio, the *bacá* was a strategy of the factory owner himself to scare workers into abandoning their jobs, leaving behind their severance pay.²³ Rumors circulated that the owners had gone to Haiti to seek witchcraft.²⁴ He continued, “and one person tells another and another and a *bacá*, a *bacá* and the whole world believes it. But for me, the *bacá*, the *bacá* is Interamericana, you see, the company, the owner.” Workers were being pushed to produce more than what they could physically handle, he went on to explain. For Eusebio, the observation that the *bacá* was the company itself was not one of a bad practice or bad management, but an indictment of the whole sector. The rumor served as a kind of false consciousness. “The people have this way, you see, that if you climb quickly you have a deal with something evil but there isn’t anything more evil than stealing money from all the people.” Eusebio argued that ultimately wage exploitation was the source of the rumor and its ultimate explanation. The *bacá* served to mask this condition in general, and to increase the capital of the factory owner directly through worker attrition stoked by fear.

While Eusebio’s interpretation certainly offers a compelling explanation of the effects of the rumor and its benefit for the company owner, we cannot comprehend the rumor’s ability to circulate, and its effects on workers, through capitalist exploitation on its own. As we make clear in the following section, the specificities of rural Dominican migrants, their experiences in urbanized trade zones, and the inter-linked histories of the Dominican Republic and Haiti, as well as the fiduciary crisis caused by certain structural transformations at that time, all played a role (Shipton 2007).

... and Rural Denizens

Set on the banks of the Artibonite River, which forms the border with Haiti, Bánica is located in the province of Elías Piña in a portion of the central

²³ Interview, February 3, 2007. In the Dominican Republic, in the absence of unemployment insurance, employers pay a lump sum to fired workers equal to one month’s salary per year of service (plus other monetized benefits). If a worker voluntarily leaves her job, she forfeits this payment. In the trade zones, evading accrued severance pay commitments often motivates illegal factory closures.

²⁴ Around this time, Interamericana was setting up a joint venture operation in Port-au-Prince (that did not succeed), for which the owner was making frequent trips to Haiti.

borderlands resettled by extensive cattle ranchers in the nineteenth century. It has since devolved into a mixed economy of small-scale subsistence agriculture and livestock husbandry traded by itinerant merchants to Haiti; locals also assist large-scale Dominican rice farmers from the valley of San Juan de la Maguana who sell *arroz partido* (broken rice) to Haiti. La Manicera, the large peanut oil plant, had provided a ready market for peanut farmers, as well as steady work in processing and rare access to credit for workers, until its closure in the 1970s. A second major blow to the area was the swine flu epidemic of 1979, when USAID forced the extermination of all pigs on the island in an effort to avert the spread of the disease to the United States (Farmer 1994, Paravisini-Gebert 2009). The pig slaughter was a catastrophe for the poor of both Haiti and the Dominican Republic since the creole pigs were uniquely adapted to the environment and served as a crucial safety net for rural households: they cost nothing since they subsisted on garbage, their excrement served as fertilizer, and their offspring paid for school fees and medicines. The fact that the poor of the central frontier were primarily small livestock herders made the pig eradication program disastrous for the area, as it dealt a devastating blow to small pig farmers. It must have contributed to out-migration from the region since a large number of Baniqueros started to make their way to Santiago in the 1980s seeking jobs in the trade zone, and rooming together upon their arrival, forming a migration stream linked through webs of kinship. Entire clans sold their houses and left in a regional chain migration from the border to Santiago.

Born in Bánica, Abercio was four years out of high school when he decided to follow his brother, cousin, and a fellow Baniquero friend to Santiago to seek work in the trade zone in the early 1990s. He had tried working in Bánica for his father who descends from a large ranching clan which had expanded into agriculture. But Abercio's father failed to pay him, providing instead meals and a house since his father had moved into the home of his new wife after the death of Abercio's mother, and thus had an unoccupied house with a patio full of fruit trees. Abercio's father's allegiance may also have shifted to his newly acquired kin, the children of his new wife, as his first children became second-tier family members. Abercio's experience is characteristic of Dominican agricultural labor arrangements which have historically been dominated by patron-client relations governed by an exchange of goods and services rather than cash payment,



Figure 1. Abercio Alcántara today in Bánica where he continues to be a tailor. Photo by Lauren Derby July 2013.

especially among kin. Abercio's father thus conformed to the expectations of the paternalist *patrón* who swapped labor for room and board, which Abercio saw as a violation. As Michael Lambek (2011:2-16) has noted, kinship relations may be seen as a kind of theft, hoarding or betrayal, when the exchange obligations are not reciprocated to both parties' satisfaction. Moreover, the presence of ample Haitian day labor in the central frontier and the regions' isolation have possibly reinforced the sharecropping logic of exchanges of goods and services rather than wage labor; while lowering wages far below national standards (Baud 1995). Thus, Abercio's departure for Santiago was an effort at escaping the exploitation veiled by rural informality. Factory work offered a radical rupture with the style of rural labor in which wage labor was concealed by "misrecognition" wherein labor was selectively read as a gift exchanged among kin, rather than salaried work (Bourdieu 1977:195). Formal wage labor in a factory setting may have been appealing due to the clear temporal bounds of a working day, which promised a formal accounting of labor time, and a set cash wage in a non-agricultural context.

Abercio's memories of life in the free trade zone are cast with nostalgia. He started in 1994 on the shop floor as a sewer at a factory called DP, only to leave to try another seeking better wages, eventually landing at Interamericana where he rose to become a shop floor inspector (*Encargado de Calidad*). His rapid rise was most unusual and resulted from his rather remarkable acquisition of skills, since he managed to master all the operations in the factory, becoming a skilled tailor. In contrast to the subsistence wages back home, work in Santiago seemed well paid, and he clearly enjoyed the boarding-school feel of being away from home but living with his cousin, enjoying his autonomy and having money in his pockets, while having the comfort and support of family close by. While this was monotonous work under the pressure of quota requirements, he and his mates injected an atmosphere of male conviviality to the shop floor. This is apparent in his tales of shop floor romance which included *piropos* (flirtation) and other provocative verbal play with female workers, as well as rounds of beers after work.²⁵ At Interamericana with a steady salary, Abercio could play the part of a *tíguere* (stud), with money to spend; he was an *hombre hombre* (real man) being cast in a position of authority in a uniform which also accorded him middle-class status, which had a whitening effect.²⁶ His new status may have also helped undo the blackening he must have felt upon arrival in Santiago where he was seen as a *rayano*, or virtual Haitian, since he hailed from the border.²⁷ He ended up pairing up with another female manager, and having a son.

Abercio was working the night shift when the rumors of the bacá began. He describes the phenomenon in the following way:

They made these packets of clothes with rubber baskets in which they placed six or seven pairs of pants, and they always appeared bloody—sprinkled with blood, and blood was always appearing in the bathrooms. Also, every year a person died from a fall, and once there were some night watchmen who worked at the plant at night who saw that all the plant lights would go on together at the same time, but the building was very very large . . . and they would see all the lights go on and off together and once

²⁵ For more on Caribbean shop-floor flirtation, see Yelvington 1995, Chapter 5.

²⁶ For more on the *tíguere*, see Collado 1981; Derby 2009, Chapter 5; Krohn-Hansen 1996:108-133, and de Moya 2002:68-102.

²⁷ The central Cibao zone around Santiago is considered the whitest region of the country. On how regions can become "raced" in Latin America, see Wade 1993. For a discussion of racialization and the border "rayano," see Victoriano-Martínez 2013.

one saw the lights go on and off and there was a tiny little man who could not speak and he fell dead. I myself saw the blood on the clothes many times, and people would say well maybe it was a rat but I said how could a rat produce all that sprinkled blood over all those packets? Because the people were terrified. And some people got sick there and were taken outside where they died. I worked there for four years and every year one person would die but it was almost all men—only one woman died. People started fleeing the plant—nobody wanted to work there anymore. In the end they had to eliminate the night shift because they could not staff it. People said that someone in the plant had a *bacá*, a devil pact; that Chicho Rivas had a pact. He was from San Juan. He was very poor and came to have a lot of wealth (*mucho mucho mucho dinero*) from the plant. Some people said he was involved in selling drugs, but I don't believe that because there were always guards around.²⁸

Abercio's story in many ways reflects those of other former Interamericana workers interviewed: a climate of fear surrounded the factory stoked especially by the unexplained deaths of co-workers. We might interpret the sacrifice of male workers to the *bacá* as a comment on their labor as "disposable" or value-less, characteristics associated with "feminized labor," perhaps reflecting the erosion of job quality for men to standards associated with the historical characteristics of women's work (i.e., untenured, insecure, informal, poorly paid, etcetera).

However, Abercio's narrative also differs in important ways from that of workers interviewed in Santiago, discrepancies that shed light on the transformation of the rumor as it traveled along specific rural-urban trajectories. First, Abercio placed great emphasis on the carnage of the bloodstained clothes in the factory. In a follow-up interview, he also reported that blood was seen in the toilet bowls and choked up the bathroom drains. The stories of blood created terror in the plant, but the prevalence of blood imagery must also have reflected collective fears such as the dangers of working with industrial machinery since in these narratives the workers are literally consumed by the plant; their life force spattered and even flushed down the toilets. This may also reflect the perceived risks of men engaging in women's work, since blood is a symbol of femaleness.

²⁸ Interview, May 17, 2011. Interestingly, *bacá* allegations have been recently linked to illicit drug trafficking, providing an explanation for how fugitives miraculously escaped from jail; see Luis Pérez Casanova, "Magia de los fugados," *El Nacional*, October 12, 2009. Rumors that Dominican garment firm owners amassed their wealth through contraband trade, including drug trafficking, were common in Santiago amongst not only workers, but also lower level managers.

Second, for Abercio and perhaps his fellow Baniqueros, the bacá was attributed not to the company owner but in fact to Abercio's plant manager, Chicho Rivas. From San Juan de la Maguana, the largest border township, Rivas was patently not linked to Santiago elite networks. His presence as a border-region insider located him within a network of reciprocal debts and obligations which drew dozens of frontier denizens to the plant, a migration chain that stretched to Bánica, and eventually drew Abercio to the plant. Rivas's provenance here is likely significant since San Juan de la Maguana is considered to be the national sorcery mecca due to the history and national importance of *curanderismo* (faith healing) there.²⁹ Thus for Baniqueros, the bacá explained how Rivas, who started just like Abercio as a sewer, ascended to *gerente* (shop floor manager) so rapidly. By drawing regional mates to the plant, Rivas created mutual networks of figurative and literal debt and obligation. While Rivas rose quickly, in part, no doubt, as a result of his recruitment abilities, his co-regionals faced incorporation into disposable circuits of labor. This speaks to a violation of what Parker Shipton (2007:xi; 2010) calls fiduciary culture—the shared codes of obligation. Rivas was supposed to take care of his mates but instead he allowed them to be sacrificed. If urbanized workers read the moral of the bacá as a tale of class exploitation, here it seems to reflect anxieties about social mobility and the risks of the violation of entrustment that can occur outside the locus of community where social sanctions can be mobilized against those who break social rules.

Reading the Narratives and Silences of the Bacá

The experience of migration and workers' incomplete incorporation into a "modern" wage structure that is also fleeting and precarious is paralleled by a transformation in the figure of the bacá. The bacá on its home terrain is very much an animal, appearing most frequently as common domestic livestock in the form of a pig, cow, or black dog. In the countryside, these tales are told by men, frequently butchers, day laborers and farmers as they stand around on market days chatting, or swapping stories over a beer after a long working day. The figure of the bacá as a little black man is consistent

²⁹ This is due to the fact that the most important faith healer Dios Olivorio Mateo lived and died there, as well as its proximity to Haiti; see Lundius & Lundahl 2000.

with urban bacá lore where the bacá thus adopts a guise more prototypical of European diabolical apparitions in the early modern period before the singular figure of Satan emerged supreme, a figure within which the “beast” hid by operating through his minions (Keyworth 2007).³⁰ The translation from rural to urban context changes it in another way too; it seems to have morphed the bacá from a werewolf into a far more deadly vampire. The story of the worker suicide in particular seeks to explain an inexplicable form of violent death since suicide is highly unusual in Caribbean rural contexts. The graphic blood imagery in Abercio’s account also indicates malevolent agency in a way not always present among rural tales in which the bacá could harm and steal but it could also be protective of one’s crops and property; it was thus morally neutral, whereas this bacá was categorically not. As Vincent Brown (2008:143) has explained, in parts of West and Central Africa, those who have died violent deaths can become wicked demons, their force harnessed to charge spells and talismans.

The bacá’s emergence as part of workers’ experience of capitalist wage labor, and its shapeshifting peregrinations from the campo to the city, is only part of the story, however. There is another local subtext of the bacá in the assembly plant, suggested by the frequent mentions of the bacá’s provenance in Haiti. The complex articulations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic are lost in a framework such as Taussig’s which privileges profit and markets spreading from the European West to the rest as an explanation of devil tales in capitalist enterprises located in “pre-capitalist” societies. As Timothy Mitchell (2000:3) writes, “to see modernity as a product not of the West but of its interaction with the non-West still leaves a problem. It assumes the existence of the West and its exterior long before the world’s identities had been divided into this neat, European centered dualism.” The bacá is a poignant example of the limits of this West/non-West dualism, for its power derives from the commingled histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic that defy such dualist understandings. The French colony of Saint Domingue grew from an enclave of plebian castaways from Normandy, France, into the jewel in the crown of the French empire, creating more wealth for France than the rest of her possessions combined. Yet the Spanish colony remained a colonial backwater which provided wood and meat products for Saint Domingue, some of which were exported from

³⁰ For more on a bacá imaged as a little man, see Derby 2009, Chapter 6.

there to Europe. Indeed, by 1750 the entire national economy to the easternmost tip of Higüey was dedicated to raising livestock for Haiti on extensive ranches (Hernández González 2008). After the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), boasting one of the most powerful standing armies in Latin America, Haiti occupied its weak Spanish neighbor from 1822-44. The Dominican economy thus formed as a byproduct of its far more powerful and cosmopolitan neighbor, whose wealth enabled the purchase of far more African slaves, comprising a slave majority on the eve of the revolution. Haitian currency became dominant since Haiti had far more international trade than its poor neighbor, and since it was the primary island market for Dominican products, some of which were re-exported to France. If Dominicans have long been associated with subsistence agriculture or use value, as opposed to Haitians who represent the market, this split continues into the present since today Haitian proletarian labor comprises over 90 percent of rural and urban Dominican day labor, at a time when formal employment for Dominicans has been shrinking, forcing more and more Dominicans into the informal sector, and, as we have discussed, more Dominican men into lower paid and more precarious trade zone jobs.³¹

As is the case among all speech acts, there are also silences within these tales which indicate embedded assumptions that must be extracted. We need thus to consider issues of genre and formulaic elements through an analysis of the structural features of the narratives, in addition to their unspoken implicit meanings (White 2000). For one, blood in the toilets offers a ghastly inversion of the role of blood sacrifice within Dominican folk Catholic practice and vodú. One should gift the gods with the beasts of their preference through sacrificial offerings on their saint days, which is blood expended properly. Yet in these stories we have blood expended not of animals but rather of people—especially young, otherwise healthy men—being washed away as waste in the toilets. This takes us one step closer to Haitian stories of the *bakas* from the urban context of Port-au-Prince, which are called in popular parlance *manje moun* or people eaters because acquiring the desired wealth via a *baka* is invariably accompanied by a sacrifice of someone near and dear. Like the Andean *pishtaco*, this conveys a message of alterity in extremis; as Mary Weismantel has said, the

³¹ For an estimate of the Haitian presence in rural labor see Liriano 2011; see Shipton's notion of bitter money (2010).

pishtaco connotes “violence and fear and racial whiteness” and “profit taking is often understood to be synonymous with whiteness.”³² The fact that the new, heavy machinery of the plant itself was a magnet for these spirit demons indicates that they seemed to have flocked to the “whitest” part of the plant. Like the *lansekòd*, a Haitian carnival figure which transforms people into cattle with a stroke of his whip, these stories seem to indicate that working in the assembly plants made people into beasts, and while sacrificing animals for divine ends is fine, human sacrifice, of course, is a major violation (see Smith 2010:71-106). Colin Dayan (1995:196) has argued that in Haiti, *bakas* might be seen as spectral memories of slavery, which turned people into beasts.

Another layer of meaning to these tales concerns the image of Docker pants as it relates to upward mobility in the Dominican Republic, which as Luis Guarnizo has persuasively argued now requires time logged in the United States (Guarnizo 1994; see also Pessar 1995). Docker advertisements mirror the image of the “Dominican York”—the Dominican migrants who began arriving in the United States in droves at the same time that the apparel industry made its home on Dominican soil. Dockers, whose target audience is the lower-middle class, frequently sports models of color in its ads, with tag lines such as “brighten up for big meetings.”³³ They thus project a promise of upwardly mobile respectability accessible to all; one seized upon by those who left middle-sector occupations in the Dominican Republic in the hopes of garnering white-collar jobs in the United States, but who instead found themselves marginalized in the deteriorating U.S. labor market, racialized as black and penalized for accents or poor English. Dockers, like the Dominican migrant, is “attractively illegitimate”; desirable, yet deceiving and threatening: such images make those who stayed behind feel deficient, since, as U.S. migrants, Dominican Yorks have been “whitened,” even if their actual occupations belie such status (Fine & Turner 2001:94).

³² Weismantel describes manufactured goods as signifying whiteness in Weismantel 2001:xxv, 149, and 181.

³³ Usdockers.com.

Conclusions: Neoliberalism and the Bacá

Desire knows nothing of exchange, it knows only theft and gift.

—Deleuze & Guattari

Could the bacá be a popular allegory for local understandings of structural adjustment and the experience of deregulated, speculative capitalism? Jean and John Comaroff have argued that similar rumors in South Africa speak to the duplicitous experience of neoliberalism for the country's vast majority, as they witness the amassing of wealth through the "mysterious mechanisms of the market," and yet are simultaneously left out of these circuits of material gain and the promise of prosperity in the postcolonial period (Comaroff & Comaroff 1999:279-303).³⁴ In the case of Dominican trade zones, this experience of deception has the added dimension of ephemeral incorporation. Changing trade and production regimes in the neoliberal period certainly created jobs that offered some rural denizens, like Abercio Alcántara, incorporation into "modernity." Yet, low wages and management-by-stress fueled high turnover even during the industry's boom, and to make matters worse, wages were gouged by a major devaluation of the Dominican peso in the 1980s. Moreover, shortly after the bacá episode, tens of thousands of garment jobs disappeared as many factories moved on to lower cost centers in Asia and the circum-Caribbean. Retrenched workers sought alternative livelihood strategies that would contain the erosion of their hard-won status as urban workers whitened by formal employment. Some like Abercio, incorporated into assembly labor and rising to a semi-skilled position, eventually returned to their *campos* to navigate their social worth within the web of kin relations to which they were again subject (see also Werner 2010).

Just as the bacá is a master of subterfuge capable of morphing from rural pig to urban dwarf, however, the story of the bacá offers one final insight into this period. The prevalence of blood imagery and sacrifice can be read through another optic: that of phantom wealth masking a process of "bleeding" the nation. The trade zone exports of the 1980s and 1990s assured the ability of Caribbean countries to service their debts as interest rates soared

³⁴ Their model, however, does not speak to links between neoliberalism and anthropophagy.

and sugar quotas to the United States contracted. In the ensuing decades, debt servicing created a huge net outflow of capital from the poorest countries of the Americas to U.S. banks.³⁵ Moreover, IMF and World Bank-enforced privatization via structural adjustment created opportunities for enormous state graft, as politicians such as Jorge Blanco of the Dominican Republic, and Carlos Menem and Carlos Salinas of Argentina and Mexico respectively, extracted enormous profits for themselves and their parties, bleeding the national coffers into overseas bank accounts and state patronage machines. This pattern eventually culminated in the withering bank crash of 2003 in the Dominican Republic, which wiped out middle-class savings overnight.³⁶ The net effect was, in the words of Kathy McAfee, a “hemorrhage of dollars” (McAfee 1991:13). Additionally, blood was an issue of much concern in Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the early 1980s as the AIDS epidemic exploded driven by sex tourism, and Haitians were unfairly accused of being the source of the global epidemic (Farmer 1992:141-150; Padilla 2008).³⁷

In sum, the *bacá* thus reflected the feeling of vulnerability of migrants seeking their fortunes in Santiago as the vital life force was being sucked out of the Dominican economy, reducing workers to spectral bodies in ephemeral jobs that ultimately drained the nation. The *bacá* emerged as a metaphor of supernatural extraction, one that exceeded the normal channels of labor exploitation, and that crystallized the sensation of capital being drained through widespread “uncivil” fiscal practice at a transitional moment as the polity shifted from authoritarianism to neopatrimonialism (Roitman 2005:5, Hartlyn 1998, Chapter 5).³⁸ These rumors were a “weapon of the weak,” which made popular sentiment a social fact (Scott 1985). This case, then, confirms Clifford Geertz’s claim that “not only ideas, but

³⁵ From 1986-88, just three countries, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Trinidad, paid out a combined total of \$1.3 billion more in interest and debt repayments than they received in loans and grants during the same period; see McAfee 1991:13-14.

³⁶ Gregory (2007) treats the 2003 crash in Chapter 6.

³⁷ The pervasive anxieties in the United States engendered by the AIDS epidemic are discussed in Bourke 2005:306-308; see Farmer (1992) on AIDS in Haiti. See Padilla (2008) on Dominican sex tourism.

³⁸ Parallels can be made to popular culture in the United States: vampires had a spike in popularity during the depression, as well as the current recession as seen in the vogue of *Twilight*, *The Walking Dead*, and *True Blood*.

emotions too are cultural artifacts"; a suggestion which challenges social scientists to read demons such as the Interamericana bacá as propositions for belief which are plausible because they express the ambient fear of the historical moment (Geertz 1973:81, 12). It is also a reminder that rumor might offer a lens into nascent popular sentiments otherwise occluded from the researchers' gaze.

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Research Note

The Maroon Population Explosion: Suriname and Guyane

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Abstract

This brief research note provides a radical update of Maroon population figures, which have nearly doubled during the past decade. Based on official 2012 Suriname and Guyane census data, projected two years forward, it offers a picture of the location and size of each of the Maroon peoples of Suriname and Guyane as of 2014. They now number some 210,000 people and constitute 23 percent of the population of Suriname and 26 percent of the population of Guyane.

Keywords

demography, Guyane, Maroons, Ndyuka, Saamaka, Suriname

A little over a decade ago, I published detailed estimates of Maroon population figures, including rough geographical distributions (Price 2002). They were summarized in the following table and accompanying note.

Table 1. 2002 Population Figures*

	Suriname "interior"	Paramaribo	Guyane interior	Guyane coast	Netherlands	TOTAL
Ndyuka	24,000	8,000	3,000	11,000	4,500	50,500
Saamaka	25,000	7,000	—	14,500	4,000	50,500
Aluku	—	—	3,900	2,000	100	6,000
Pamaka	2,300	500	500	2,300	400	6,000
Matawai	1,000	2,900	—	—	100	4,000
Kwinti	170	400	—	—	30	600
TOTAL	52,470	18,800	7,400	29,800	9,130	117,600

* For the Ndyuka, "Suriname 'interior'" includes both the Tapanahoni/Lawa and the Cotica regions, with the population divided almost exactly evenly between the two. For the Saamaka, "Suriname 'interior'" includes villages both above and below the lake. In addition to sites listed in the table, a growing number of Maroons—perhaps several hundred—now reside in the United States, principally in Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Boston, and a small number of Alukus reside in metropolitan France.

New figures from the 2012 Suriname census as well as personal observations in Guyane and the Netherlands suggest that a radical update is already in order.

My 2002 table gave a total of 71,000 Maroons living in Suriname, very close to the 2004 Suriname census count of 72,000. But the 2012 Suriname census enumerates 117,000 Maroons and the Suriname newspaper *de Ware Tijd* writes of their "explosive growth" and a "baby boom" that has suddenly elevated Maroons to a position well ahead of Creoles as "the second largest ethnic group" in the country (trailing only Hindustanis, who "remain the largest group with 148,000 people") (Pross 2013).¹

The Suriname government figures are inconsistent, showing 26,000 Maroon births and 10,000 returning Maroon migrants for the intervening period—which, even if there had not been a single Maroon death, does not account for the spectacular rise in population between the

¹ If the respective rates of natural increase (natality minus mortality) that have maintained during the past eight years were to continue for the next twenty, Maroons would pass Hindustanis as the largest ethnic group in Suriname.

two censuses. It would seem that the 2004 government census of Maroons (and my own 2002 figures!), as well as perhaps government figures on Maroon births, represent severe undercounts, since an eight-year rise from 72,000 to 117,000 would imply an impossibly high growth rate of 6.3 percent per annum.² We need to arrive at a more realistic growth rate to understand the actual situation. Let us begin by accepting the government's 2012 figure of 117,000 Maroons in Suriname—even though it is far more likely to be an undercount than an overcount.³

In my earlier article, based on information from INSEE (the French statistical bureau), I adopted a rate of natural increase for Maroons in Guyane of 4.2 percent per annum and there are indications that it has now attained 4.5 percent. Since Suriname's health services hardly rival those of Guyane, we might estimate the corresponding rate in Suriname at 4 percent. Making adjustments for the fact that there has been considerable outmigration from traditional territories toward greater Paramaribo (including Para) and continuing emptying-out of upriver Ndyuka villages toward both greater Paramaribo and Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni,⁴ Maroon population and geographical distribution figures would break down roughly as follows:

² The Director of the Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, Iwan Sno, attributes the 2004 undercount, and the surprising differential between the 2004 and 2012 figures, in part to many Maroons not identifying themselves as such in 2004 but, in the intervening years, becoming proud of their Maroon identity (Lith 2013; Pross 2013).

³ Census taking among Maroons is a fraught endeavor, not least because many are inveterate transnationals and an ever-increasing number have dual residence between the coast and interior. It is difficult to count a moving subject.

⁴ I thank Dale Battistoli for helping me think through some of these changes.

Table 2. 2014 Population Figures*

	Suriname "interior"	Paramaribo and environs	Guyane interior	Guyane coast	Netherlands	TOTAL
Ndyuka	26,000	30,000	5,500	21,000	7,500	90,000
Saamaka	28,500	29,000	—	25,000	7,500	90,000
Aluku	—	—	5,700	5,100	200	11,000
Pamaka	4,300	1,100	1,000	3,900	700	11,000
Matawai	1,300	5,500	—	—	200	7,000
Kwinti	300	650	—	—	50	1,000
TOTAL	60,400	66,250	12,200	55,000	16,150	210,000

* For the Ndyuka, "Suriname 'interior'" includes both the Tapanahoni/Lawa and Cottica/Moengo regions, as well as the (former) Sara Creek villages. For the Saamaka, "Suriname 'interior'" includes villages both above and below the lake. In addition to sites listed in the table, an ever growing number of Maroons—many hundreds—now reside in the United States, principally in Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Boston, as well as elsewhere in the world, and a small number, mainly Alukus, reside in metropolitan France. The increase in the Maroon population in the Netherlands is a combination of natural increase and immigration.

When Sally Price and I began work among Maroons some fifty years ago, their total population (Suriname plus Guyane) stood at about 40,000 (Price 1976: 3-4). By 2000, that figure had passed the 100,000 mark. And during the last decade it has nearly doubled.

Referring to the table for 2014, we find:

- The Maroon population living in Suriname = 127,000, with roughly 56,000 Ndyukas and 58,000 Saamakas. Maroons make up 23 percent of the population of Suriname.
- The Maroon population living in Guyane = 67,000, with roughly 27,000 Ndyukas and 25,000 Saamakas. Maroons make up 26 percent of the population of Guyane.⁵

⁵ Because the French census does not enumerate ethnic groups and counts only legal residents (thus excluding most of the resident Saamaka population), the Maroon figures for Guyane may be severe underestimates. Moreover, official 2012 figures for the majority-Aluku

- And the total population of Suriname and Guyane Maroons, spread around the world (I have Maroon Facebook friends in such places as South Africa and China), including about 90,000 Ndyukas and 90,000 Saamakas, now stands at some 210,000.

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communes of Apatou, Maripasoula, and Papaichton total over 18,000, so the true number of Alukus is likely to be considerably higher than in my table (INSEE 2012). Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, which has an official population of 38,000, would appear to have a Maroon population of at least 25,000, divided (in descending order) among Ndyukas, Saamakas, Alukus, and Pamakas.

Review Article

Haitian Migrants in the French Overseas Territories of the Caribbean

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Migrants en Guyane. Frédéric Piantoni. Arles, France: Actes Sud/Musée des cultures guyanaises, 2011. 174 pp. (Paper € 22.00)

Être migrant et Haïtien en Guyane. Maud Laëthier. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2010. 319 pp. (Paper € 26.00)

Saint-Martin. Déstabilisation sociétale dans la Caraïbe française. Danielle Jeffry. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010. 249 pp. (Paper € 24.50)

L'immigration haïtienne dans la Caraïbe: Quel défi pour l'unité des peuples? Louis-Auguste Joint & Julien Méron (eds.). Gourbeyre, Guadeloupe: Éditions Nestor, 2011. 335 pp. (Paper € 28.00)

*

Migrations are an essential dimension of the Caribbean region, and this was already the case before the European conquest of the Americas. The region has been an important site for the development and enrichment of anthropological concepts, such as transnationalism and diaspora, related to the movement of people. Numerous studies dealing with the international migrations of Caribbean people to North America or Europe have been conducted, but the study of internal migrations within the region, in

particular to the French territories, has so far been largely neglected. The few articles that have been published have concerned the discriminatory treatment of foreigners, in particular Haitians and Dominicans, in Guadeloupe. This gap has now been filled with the recent publication of several works by geographers, anthropologists, sociologists, or residents of these territories, contributing to a new field of research in France. Lately, several history and anthropology Ph.D. dissertations have been defended and several calls for proposals by the main research funding agencies such as the ACSE (Agence nationale pour l'égalité des chances et la cohésion sociale) and the ANR (Agence nationale de recherche) have sponsored research projects on migrations.

The volumes under review here concern the French territories of the Americas where the percentage of foreigners is the greatest—both the departments of French Guiana (Guyane) and Guadeloupe, and the overseas collectivity (*collectivité d'outre-mer*, or COM) of Saint-Martin. The presence of foreigners in these territories is larger than in mainland France. In 2008, according to official statistics (INSEE 2008), it was 5.8 percent in France, compared to 37.2 percent in Guyane and 30 percent in Saint-Martin, but only 4.2 percent in Guadeloupe. Migrations have economic or political origins. The standard of living is much higher in the French Caribbean than anywhere else in the region, which makes these territories attractive to poorer people. Political conflicts such as the civil war in Suriname and political instability in Haiti have devastated the region, drawing the populations of these two countries to other territories. Migrations take different shapes. In French Guiana, they can involve movement back and forth across the Maroni and Oyapock Rivers; elsewhere they can be temporary or definitive. The books under review here belong to an anthropology of space and migrations that can be seen to involve France's definition of its overseas borders, the migrants' experience of these territories, and the hosting population's perspectives on the movement of people.

Migrants en Guyane, by Frédéric Piantoni, Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Reims, is a beautiful book of photographs showing foreigners living in Guyane as well as some views of neighborhoods and landscapes. Black and white or in color, shot between 2006 and 2010, the photos were the focus of an itinerant exhibition seen in France, Guyane, Suriname, and Brazil in 2011, the year that the French government dedicated to the celebration of its overseas territories. The book, organized in

terms of the themes of routes, districts, and borders, is much more than an exhibit catalog. The text of some eighty pages, together with impressively detailed maps, relates the history of people of Haitian, Brazilian, and Surinamese origin living in Guyane. Piantoni stresses the different political contexts and the modalities of settling down and reception for each of the three populations, and describes their different legal statuses as documented, undocumented, or involved in back-and-forth migrations.

The book also contextualizes this history of migrations in a geopolitical and historical analysis of the borders, drawing on Piantoni's voluminous 2009 work, *L'enjeu migratoire en Guyane: Une géographie politique*, and reflecting innovatively about the construction of the territory and therefore the borders of Overseas France in South America. Guyane has three types of physical borders, all quite recent: national boundaries with Brazil and Suriname established at the beginning of the twentieth century along the Maroni and Oyapock Rivers and cutting through the Amazonian forest; borders circumscribing municipalities, established in 1969 after the abolition of the territory of Inini (an internal territory of Guyane which had a separate administrative status until that year); and more recent internal borders—two customs, antiterrorist, and immigration checkpoints at Iracoubo and Belizon. There are also institutional border controls made by the recent visa requirements for certain foreign nationals. For example, Brazilian nationals cannot enter Guyane without a tourist visa although they can still go to France itself without one. These requirements are fluid—opened or closed by the French state according to the political context of the region.

Être migrant et Haïtien en Guyane, by Maud Laëthier, offers thorough coverage of the Haitian presence in the Cayenne region. It recounts the historical and contemporary origins of the Haitian migration before going into a detailed account of the migrants' experience of their new environment. Its chapters introduce an ethnography of the living space, analyze economic activities as translating social relationships, chronicle the development of cultural activism through a highly developed network of associations, and describe the religious affiliations to Vodou or Protestant churches—all of which shows the intensity of social networks in the Haitian community. One of the main strengths of the book is its proposal for a local ethnography in relation to the regional and national immigration policies of the French state. The Haitian community is never essentialized or described outside

of a historical framework. For example, Laëthier analyzes Vodou as it is practiced by believers and religious leaders of both Haitian and Guyanais origins, who go back and forth between Haiti and Guyane. She shows brilliantly how Vodou cannot be analyzed outside of its diasporic dimension, whether it is studied in the diaspora or in Haiti.

The goal of her book is to ascertain the identity formation processes of Haitian migrants, both as individuals and as members of a group. Laëthier argues that three complementary processes are at work. The first, a collective process that can be summed up as “I am the Other” (*Je suis l'autre*), refers to the host society's expectations. The second process is individual—“I am the similar Other” (*Je suis l'autre semblable*)—and refers to a quest for acceptance, as Haitians are culturally close to Guyanais. The third is both individual and collective—“I am a genuine Other” (*Je suis un autre authentique*)—and is accomplished when claiming Haitian traditions and history. Identity formation processes cannot be reified; identity is developed in relation to specific social and historical contexts. The main theoretical contribution of the book resides in its approach to the definition of the black diaspora in relation to the question of territoriality, which has often been denied to the black diaspora and to immigrants in general. In an outstanding chapter, Laëthier reviews social science theories regarding migration issues and the definition of the black diaspora. She argues both against Arjun Appadurai's claim (1996) that in an increasingly mobile world contemporary subjects are not involved in the construction of any territory and against Stuart Hall's claim (1989) that the black diaspora is so creative that it does not need to refer to a territory as a founding symbol for a collective identity. Laëthier's book shows how the production of a territory, hence “territorialization,” at an individual or collective level is essential in the development of one's subjectivity and a community, even in a transnational and global context. The study of the living space, of a specific neighborhood in Cayenne, or of the affiliation to Vodou or Protestant churches demonstrates the development of one's subjectivity anchored in a territory far from Haiti but in relation to the country of origin, which still operates as a major point of reference. Because of colonial history, the diasporic subjects are not lost in an absence of spatial references as Édouard Glissant argued in *Le discours antillais* (1981). Rather, Laëthier proposes (p. 292), social relations are constructed in reference to a *réseau territorialisé* (territorialized network) extending from Haiti to Guyane, made up of political, religious, economic, and dwelling branches.

The other two books under review are written from the viewpoint of citizens and researchers of the host societies. In *Saint-Martin, déstabilisation sociétale dans la Caraïbe française*, Daniella Jeffry, an English teacher and public policy expert, continues the critical approach to the island's economic development that she initiated in *Le scandale statutaire sur l'île de Saint-Martin* (2006). At that time she was opposed to the political change of Saint-Martin, a former Guadeloupean commune, into a more autonomous overseas collectivity (COM). In her new book, Jeffry analyzes the economic, demographic, and cultural history of the island since the emergence in the 1970s of an economic upturn based on tourism and supported by tax breaks. She demonstrates how the inhabitants of Saint-Martin were left by the wayside for the benefit of newcomers, whether French metropolitans, French Guadeloupeans, or foreigners from other Caribbean territories. Between 1970 and 2010 the population of Saint-Martin increased sevenfold due to the arrival of foreigners and newcomers from France, making the native population of Saint-Martin less than 20 percent of the total.

To qualify and analyze the consequences of such a demographic change, Jeffry develops the concept of silent genocide. She argues that Saint-Martin is not an ethnically and culturally integrated society but a segregated (*communautariste*) society in which every ethnic group fights for its own interests. The first part of the book, on post-1946 French Caribbean society, consists of three chapters in which she develops this key concept under the headings "Anatomy of a silent genocide," "Mental structure of the assimilated subject," and "Strategy of population displacement." She defines the silent genocide as a "quiet, cunning, bloodless [genocide], which is unnoticed, though it may go on for decades," adding that "In this study we do not take into account genocide based on killing people; instead we focus on the kind that destroys souls, spirits, and initiative, and generates discrimination to rule out the Other. This type of genocide is much more pernicious than the one that is usually acknowledged" (p. 27). Silent genocide can take different forms depending on whether people are displaced by substitution, dilution, or intermarriage. When people are displaced to a new territory, the original population becomes a minority group and this facilitates the exploitation of the place. Though Jeffry does not refer to Aimé Césaire, the concept of silent genocide owes much to the notion of "genocide by substitution" that Césaire developed in a speech in 1975 at the National Assembly to characterize the French plan to transfer 30,000 metropolitan French workers to Guyane where only 50,000 people were

living at the time. Césaire's concept is now used both by Antillean activists to object to the presence of French metropolitans in the French Caribbean and by the French far right to object to the presence of foreigners in continental France. Indeed, Jeffry's analysis comes close to the far right as she considers, on the basis of false and manipulated data as well as stereotypes, that the presence of foreigners in Saint-Martin is a threat to the society's equilibrium.

There follows an anthology of impressions regarding foreigners—more precisely though not clearly stated, those of Haitian origin. Jeffry argues that the granting of social benefits to foreigners has generated social and ethnic divisions and antagonisms at both individual and “clan” levels (p. 186), that foreign single mothers do not want to get married and have too many children to be granted more benefits (p. 186), and that there are too many undocumented workers who steal work from the native population (p. 51). These clichés are amplified in a chapter that Jeffry contributed to the final book under review, *L'immigration haïtienne dans la Caraïbe*, in which she asserts that with one thousand births a month (though note that INSEE documents between 721 and 915 births a year for the years 2000–2008), the number of foreigners is growing intrusively, despite the assertion of another contributor to the volume that many migrants actually live in Miami and show up in Saint-Martin a few days a month to collect their benefits (Jeffry in Joint & Méron, p. 176). In fact, “this is in their history, in their mentality” to “make money out of any situation and to get whatever they [Haitians] want” (Jeffry in Joint & Méron, p. 180).

L'immigration haïtienne dans la Caraïbe: Quel défi pour l'unité des peuples, edited by Louis-Auguste Joint, a teacher and sociologist, and Julien Merion, a political scientist affiliated with the Université des Antilles-Guyane, is an embarrassing book to review. It consists of three parts. “Haïti au carrefour de la Caraïbe” provides a historical and legal introduction to the history of Haitian migration; “Haïtiens d'île en île: Quelle intégration?” offers case studies of several Caribbean territories as well as analysis of the impact of U.S. deportations; and “Paroles d'Haïtiens, quelles interpellations?” brings together research notes on the life of immigrants, which are very questionable as the immigrants tend to embellish their experiences. A bibliography of Francophone citations concludes the book. The intention was to assemble a series of papers written by academics, citizens, and migrants in order to “put side by side experiences and perspectives on a common

phenomenon" (p. 230). Nevertheless, due to a lack of editorial care in terms of spelling, grammar, and (more importantly) content, the entire book falls apart. The variety of styles in the writing of the articles and in the level of analysis makes reading this book very difficult if not impossible, and it is hard to avoid being deeply upset by the shameless repetition of the worst clichés about Haitians. The book was designed to propose recommendations to contribute to the development of migration policies in the Caribbean region to favor the "integration of the peoples" beyond the usual discrimination against foreigners. I fear that the opposite will happen, as the book provides fuel for those who reject Haitians by claiming that they have an immeasurably different history and culture from the rest of the region. (In this context, I would mention René Belenus's splendid essay, "Saint-Domingue et la Guadeloupe en 1802: Destins croisés," which demonstrates how the rebellions cannot be dissociated when in both islands enslaved Africans took the Declaration of Human Rights at its word and made it apply to the Caribbean.)

Although migrations have always been part of Caribbean history, the gap in analyses produced on the one hand by academics and on the other by Antillean residents reveals the tension in addressing such a source of conflict. We can only hope that academics will feel responsible for making their work available outside of academic circles by engaging politicians and larger audiences in a public debate.

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Book Reviews

The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples. Stephan Palmié & Francisco Scarano (eds.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011. x + 660 pp. (Paper US\$ 35.00)

This ambitious book is a massive, sprawling collection of forty 10-15-page essays and an introduction by the editors. Thirty-three of the forty contributors work in universities or other institutions outside the region, and thirty-one are men. Most (but not all) are noted authorities in their fields and display easy familiarity with recent scholarship.

Palmié and Scarano state that their book is aimed at “students and other readers not yet acquainted with Caribbean history” who will find “an accessible and thorough introduction to the region” (pp. 1-2). It provides, they write, an “overview of the best of contemporary scholarship on the region for readers who are new to the field,” with cross-disciplinary contributors who present the state of knowledge about their topics in “accessible prose” and with “a minimum of scholarly clutter” (p. 3). This last promise means that there are no notes. Most chapters include a few references to cited works, though some have no references at all; there is an overall bibliography, as well as a glossary and useful maps. I’m not sure how a 660-page compilation by many hands will compare—as a text for students and other novices—with a shorter narrative by a single author, such as Barry Higman’s *A Concise History of the Caribbean* (2011).

Any general work on Caribbean history must decide on the appropriate definition of the region. The editors sensibly go for the definition most generally accepted by scholars, at least from the Anglophone world: all the islands, including the Bahamas, plus those continental “enclaves” whose history is so closely bound up with the region (the Guianas and Belize). This contrasts with Higman’s book, which excludes the enclaves—the only serious flaw (in my view) in an otherwise fine general history. In the Palmié & Scarano volume, Suriname attracts considerable attention, Guyana and Guyane much less. Chapter 33, on the Caribbean during the cold war, for

example, makes no mention of the “Cold War Tragedy” (to quote the title of a book on the subject by Stephen Rabe) of Guyana between 1959 and 1964; Guyana is also absent in Chapter 35, which looks at the postindependence trajectory of Suriname, Trinidad & Tobago, and Jamaica. Guyane and Belize are barely mentioned anywhere. Still, in principle the enclaves, especially Suriname, are (correctly) comprehended within the scope of this book.

The book is organized in seven parts, delineated on chronological and thematic lines. Part 1 deals with the region’s geography and ecology, the precontact indigenous societies and the Mediterranean antecedents to the sugar-and-slavery complex. Part 2, “The Making of a Colonial Sphere,” considers the Greater Antilles during the era of conquest and early colonization. The third part focuses mainly on the seventeenth century, including the sugar revolution in the Leewards. Part 4 looks at the classic slave societies, the Haitian Revolution, and the dismantling of slavery elsewhere in the region. Part 5 is essentially on the long nineteenth century and the developments after the end of slavery in the various territories. The major theme of Part 6 is the rise of U.S. ascendancy in the region and the crises of the twentieth century. Finally, Part 7, “The Caribbean in the Age of Globalization,” discusses key topics in the second half of the last century, starting with the Cuban Revolution, and taking the narrative up to the Haitian tragedy of 2010. This periodization is sensible and appropriate, though hardly novel.

My major peeve with this book is the amount of duplicated material between the chapters. The editors admit the existence of “overlaps” but say that they often reveal “scholarly disagreements” (p. 3). Some overlaps there must be in a multi-authored work of this kind, but too often it’s a matter of straightforward duplication and repetition, at times involving large chunks of individual chapters. It would be tedious to cite examples, but I do think that more rigorous editing would have produced a leaner volume with much less actual repetition. Of course it may be that few will read the whole book from cover to cover, as this devoted reviewer has, and so will hardly notice the amount of duplication.

In fact, few of the chapters deal with “scholarly disagreements” or issues of historiography, a good decision in my view; they do, however, for the most part, present the most recent findings on their topics. Those chapters that attempt to discuss scholarly controversies, such as Chapter 13 on the Sugar

Revolution or Chapter 20 on “econocide,” are not in my view particularly successful and are likely to confuse readers unversed in the subject. It is of course difficult to treat such issues in very short essays aimed at students or people new to the field. Most of the chapters sensibly eschew any such aim, and provide instead brisk narratives with contextual analysis, appropriate for the book’s intended readership.

It may seem perverse, since I’ve implicitly criticized the book’s length, to argue that two subjects were, in my view, underrepresented. There’s no chapter on gender, the theme of quite a lot of recent, high quality work. (There are two specifically on race, and race, class, and labor themes permeate the whole book, as we would expect.) Of course there’s material on gender and on women in many chapters, but not much. Another omission is the arts and culture, barely mentioned anywhere. Of the three Nobel laureates in literature the region has produced, Derek Walcott merits one passing reference, Saint-John Perse and V. S. Naipaul none at all. (Neither does Arthur Lewis, for that matter.)

But, clearly, the great strength of this book is its comprehensive coverage of the whole region, as well as its presentation of up-to-date research findings. It is a genuinely pan-Caribbean history, especially strong on the Hispanic Greater Antilles, where some 64 percent of the region’s population live; but it’s also good on Haiti and the French Antilles, with 22 percent of the population. Even the Dutch-colonized territories, which so often fall between the cracks in regional histories, get decent coverage. The tendency of some English-language general histories of the region to concentrate, at least after about 1620, on the British-colonized places, with only some six million people out of a total of around forty million—exemplified in a recent book by Tony Martin (2011)—is completely absent here. Palmié and Scarano have sought to present a balanced history of all the region’s diverse peoples, from the earliest times to the present; the last section (Chapters 34-39) takes the narrative up to 2010-2011.

Nearly all the chapters are authoritative and accurate—notwithstanding some inevitable but mainly small errors of fact or date—and present state of the art research on their topics. Most are very readable and written in an engaging style. Sound analysis is embedded in the narrative of events, and the tone is generally balanced and sober. This is an interesting, well-written, and ambitious book. Few, I suspect, will read it all through, but the

chapters should prove valuable for classroom materials, and non-student readers will enjoy browsing.

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M.G. Smith: Social Theory and Anthropology in the Caribbean and Beyond. Bryan Meeks (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011. xiii + 341 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

This collection of fourteen essays, with an introduction by Brian Meeks and a postscript by Mary F. Smith, provides an ample deliberation on the Caribbean and African research of Jamaican anthropologist, Michael Garfield (M.G.) Smith (1921-1993). It also offers some reflections on Smith's theoretical position, an important contribution of the volume overall. Save for one, the essays were presented first at a conference in 2008 convened by the Centre for Caribbean Thought at UWI, Mona.

The volume is divided into three sections. The first, "Critical Contestations," canvasses the strengths and weaknesses of Smith's "plural society" approach. Essays by Jean Besson, Mervyn Alleyne, and Don Robotham also juxtapose Smith's plural society theory with one or another version of creole or creolization theory.

The second section concentrates on the empirical scope of Smith's work. Two essays concern his historical research into Western African emirates: one by Mohammed Bashir Salau on Smith's comparative study of slaveries in Jamaica and West Africa and the other, by Murray Last, on Smith's accounts of Hausa emirates. Both are critical but constructively so. They address Smith's research methods and interpretations. In the final essay of this section, Christine Barrow re-reads Smith's *Kinship and Community in Carriacou* (1962) as a precursor to Caribbean feminist thought on female sexuality.

The final section contains six essays which, their section title suggests, go "beyond M.G. Smith" or apply his perspectives in new ways. Among the most interesting are those by Rivke Jaffe, Jack Menke, and Peter Meel, which revolve around Suriname, a site not mentioned often in discussions of Smith's work (which tend rather to reference the so-called Anglophone Caribbean). Two others involve further excursions into comparison, regarding pluralism in Ghana today (Wyatt MacGaffey) and historical memory in the Caribbean (Anton Allahar). The latter introduces the work of Michel-Rolph Trouillot into its discussion. The final contribution, by Huon Wardle, looks at Smith as anthropologist and poet. It advocates an ethnography for the Caribbean that has an open, generative approach, perhaps more in the style of Smith the poet than Smith the social scientist.

Among Caribbeanists generally, responses to Smith's work tend to fall into two camps. For those who practice one or another form of historical anthropology, his research is often seen—by implication—as dated and immersed in indiscriminating detail. As Last notes, Smith's histories resemble "series of synchronic analyses." For those more immediately touched by his field research, responses have often been more passionate, and divided. Among this audience, Smith has been seen by some as a world-ranking anthropologist with enduring influence and by others as a rigid and limited analyst. Meeks's volume suggests yet another view.

Smith's influential publications appeared mainly in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. His work was concurrent with that of anthropologists linked to the beginnings of a postcolonial critique of anthropology—whether or not they were to become postcolonialists as such. One of these was Max Gluckman, a very different anthropologist from M.G. Smith but, nonetheless, one who placed an emphasis on conflict and colonial power rather than on value integration and function. Another was Talal Asad who, in a seminal essay, reminded anthropologists that social life is always political especially in the colonial and neocolonial milieus where they did field research. The import of Asad's critique was that ethnographers should see themselves as agents in these contexts and not just as ciphers. Their published accounts were themselves political artifacts.

Essays in this volume suggest that M.G. Smith's greatest contribution to Caribbean anthropology came in his argument that the Caribbean (especially Jamaica) reflected a "differential incorporation" of cultural groups, thereby in conflict (Philip Burnham, p. 15). In the words of Colin Clarke, "[Relative] legal and political capacity turned cultural pluralism into differentially incorporated and ranked cultures ... in which the minority dominated the majority by non-democratic means, and relied heavily on force" (p. 95). In this respect, M.G. Smith connected with anthropology's first postcolonial moment and with many subsequent accounts of decolonization and its legal-political dynamics. In terms of Smith's own life and concerns—including his relations with the Manley family—these insights distinguished his position from that maintained by early advocates of a creole society model. With respect to Raymond T. Smith in particular, both in this and his later position—that race is a foundational part of New World culture—the difference lay in the fact that, where M.G. Smith's analysis foregrounded politics, R.T. Smith's did not. Finely honed, R.T. Smith's

position was mainly a social/cognitive one and did not focus on the ways in which power and contest are manifest in meaning.

Yet M.G. Smith also differed markedly from the postcolonialists. His disdain for issues of class and economic power—local, regional, and global—led him to the view that change would be largely the product of politics and legal reform, a faint hope for the Caribbean (Robotham, p. 71). He seemed entirely to miss the point that the intersection of economy and law is the crucible within which colonial societies are forged, not least New World plantation ones.

Linked with this limitation was another: M.G. Smith's failure to take African identity as a trans-Atlantic and contemporary phenomenon—as a current and future historical course for Caribbean peoples descended from African slaves. Smith's Caribbean histories, like those of his contemporaries, remained one-sided and European (Robotham, pp. 78-83 and *passim*). Such paths rest, of course, on the power to make that African identity real in a regional and global world. Smith did not, and possibly could not, think the forms of political and cultural mobilization that might in his and our times be effective for the people he cared about most. An interesting scholar in his period, M.G. Smith remains so today as this volume demonstrates.

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Slavery, Freedom, and Abolition in Latin America and the Atlantic World. Christopher Schmidt-Nowara. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011. xiii + 204 pp. (Paper US\$ 28.95)

Was slavery in the Iberian world different? Or does it only seem different because its historiography is badly integrated into the general literature on slavery and the slave trade? This book shows that Iberian slavery did indeed differ from other slave systems. First of all, it did not constitute a colonial antithesis to the growing individual liberty and the increasingly free labor market in Europe since slavery in Spain and Portugal had not disappeared during the Middle Ages. That continuity also explains another unique feature: no other slave system was so well embedded in official legal and religious practice. In other slave systems, which were new, the judiciary as well as the Church had to invent new rules and regulations regarding slaves.

This study is clearly written with undergraduate students in mind. Adroitly, it summarizes the state of the art regarding the history of slavery and the slave trade in the British colonial world and then points to the differences, as Iberian slavery (1) did not replace the immigration of indentured servants from Europe as in the English, French, and Dutch colonies, (2) manumitted more slaves than other slave systems even in Brazil and Cuba where slavery was of vital importance to the export economy, and (3) seemed more influenced by cultural factors than by the exigencies of the economy, as nowhere else did so many slaves work outside the profitable plantation sector.

Schmidt-Nowara should be commended for his ability to analyze almost five centuries of Iberian slavery in a little over 150 pages of main text. The book contains no alphabetical bibliography, but there are many references to the existing literature in both the footnotes and the suggestions for further reading. Between each chapter, a short, well-written case history of a single person highlights in a few pages some of the historical trends discussed in the preceding chapter.

A survey like this can only be as good as the existing historiography allows for, and putting Iberian slavery in a comparative perspective brings to light several unexplored areas. It is indeed remarkable that neither Portugal nor Spain developed the institution of indentured labor. The fact that they continued to employ slaves seemed more a cultural phenomenon than an economic one as free labor on the Iberian Peninsula could not have

been much more expensive than in those areas in Europe where slavery had disappeared.

The same could be said about manumission. It is difficult to explain what economic reasoning stimulated slave owners to free their slaves. Sometimes, manumitting old and diseased slaves without much earning potential might have been financially advantageous, but after 1750 slave prices were on the increase, especially in Cuba and Brazil, making all slave labor more valuable. Schmidt-Nowara might well be right in asserting that Iberian slavery was embedded in a set of cultural and religious traditions that differed from those in other slave societies.

Culture might explain why the economics of Iberian slavery were different from other slave systems, but it seems unlikely that it also affected slave demography. Yet Schmidt-Nowara suggests that demographic growth of the slave population in the Iberian world was negative due to bad treatment and undernourishment. In so doing he underestimates the dominant role of noncultural factors such as tropical disease. The strong demographic growth among the slaves in British North America seems to suggest that in large parts of the nontropical areas of Iberian America slave births also must have exceeded deaths.

In describing the end of the slave trade and slavery in Iberian America Schmidt-Nowara does not invoke the deviating cultural parameters, but, instead, points to the usual factors such as slave rebellions and the international role of British abolitionism. However, in this case cultural factors were at play, resulting in a weak abolitionist movement with little political impact in the Iberian world. That created a strange paradox. In Britain abolitionists were so influential that economics were put aside when emancipating the slaves and slavery was abolished everywhere at the same time regardless of the economic viability of slave labor in a particular colony. While the economics of slavery seemed less important in Spanish and Portuguese America, slaves were first emancipated in those areas where their labor was less vital to the economy. That enabled Brazil and Cuba to profit from slave labor much longer than any British colony.

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Slavery and the Culture of Taste. Simon Gikandi. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011. pp. xviii + 366. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

Simon Gikandi's epigraph to *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* is provided by Derek Walcott's evocative lines: "Where are your monuments, your battles, martyrs?/ Where is your tribal memory? Sirs,/ In that gray vault. The sea. The sea/ Has locked them up. The sea is History." Gikandi's project in this book is to connect eighteenth-century modernity with its dark side, to find that history lost in the sea, to link the metropolis with the colonies, the enslavers with the enslaved, and offer "an allegorical reading of spaces of repression . . . recover transatlantic slavery, often confined to the margins of the modern world picture, as one of the informing conditions of civilized culture" (p. x). Both the institution of slavery and the culture of taste, he argues, were constitutive of modern subjects. Yet there is no simple causal relationship, for the connections were often sublimated: this is a subject that requires a contrapuntal reading, Said's chosen method. Gikandi's exploration is of two distinct regions of social life and the discursive work that aimed to separate them. On the one hand there was the world of the court, the city, the coffee house, and the country house; on the other, that which was quarantined off from their esteemed politeness and civility—the slave trade, the Middle Passage, and plantation slavery.

Gikandi draws on a dazzling range of social and cultural theorists, among whom are Mary Douglas, Fredric Jameson, Jacques Derrida, Jean Laplanche, Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, Walter Benjamin, and Charles Taylor, to explore "what survives in the 'secret tomb' of modern subjectivity" (p. x): the political unconscious of the slave owners and the countercultures of taste that were created by the enslaved. His scholarly range is impressive and interdisciplinary, the cultural forms he analyzes many and varied—from diaries, travel writings, and literary, philosophical and political works to buildings, paintings, and pottery. His spatial universe traverses the antebellum South, the Caribbean, and Britain; his temporal frame, though centered on the eighteenth century, moves well into the nineteenth at times. This scale and reach can sometimes raise wonders about specificity for the historian. But Gikandi is a cultural critic, his strength the capacity to conduct what he calls "allegories of reading, explorations of the tropes and figures that often point, or lead, to sublimated connections" (p. xiii), work that requires, imagination, conjecture, and unverified reconstruction.

His central question concerns the relation between aesthetic objects and the political economy of slavery. The culture of taste was intimately associated with the construction of an autonomous, self-reflective individual and an aesthetic ideology associated with rationality. This existed alongside a racialized regime of violence and terror, the knowledge of which had to be sublimated or disavowed, driven to the margins or underground. Difference was essential to modern identity. Taste, he argues, acted as a key mediator in this process for the sign of black inferiority was aesthetic lack. It is the traces that he aims to uncover, the residue of what was there but could not be acknowledged. Paradox is critical to this analysis—the paradox of presence and absence (how that which was outside was constitutive to the inside), of pain and beauty (for how could the enslaved be represented in images intended to elicit pleasure?), of slavery both present and distant (the distinction between the Americas and Britain), of African slavery and English freedom. Slavery, he argues, was the “disquieting enigma” (p. 28) in the culture of sensibility.

The two opening chapters lay out the character of sensibility in the age of slavery and the changing theories of taste in eighteenth-century Britain. A disturbing contrapuntal reading focuses on the everyday life of a modern female subject in Georgian London, Anna Larpent, consuming and theater going, and an enslaved woman Nealee whose last days on a slave coffle were briefly recorded by Mungo Park. This sharp juxtaposition highlights Gikandi’s contention that both lived in the same world of slavery and empire: “Larpent’s happiness and her everyday conviviality must be read against Nealee’s melancholy and tragedy” (p. 70), the visibility of the one to be read against the invisibility of the other. What follows in the book are a series of case studies, of slave-owners and their aesthetic lives, of the culture of conduct practiced in Virginia, and of the responses of the enslaved to their evacuation from the realm of taste and modern identity—the countercultures and cultural undergrounds that they constructed.

Slavery and the Culture of Taste is a rich and complex book and one that it is impossible to do justice to in a brief review. It leaves me with many thoughts but also with a question. Gikandi’s focus is on the black/white binary and the specificities of New World slavery and its relation to what was defined as civilized. This is a huge topic and it is an impressively ambitious book. But slavery, the making of men and women into commodities, while clearly the most dramatic and dehumanizing form of servitude that

shadowed “civilization,” was far from the only form of it. If it were possible to imagine a more comprehensive account of the forms of subjection and unfree labor that haunt Britain’s imperial past and conceptions of modernity, it would require an account of the ways in which racialized, gendered, and classed difference was hierarchized in extraordinarily complex and shifting ways, creating constitutive insides and outsides. Such an account would need to address indigeneity and peoples of color across the empire as well as domestic service, apprenticeship, and indenture. Gikandi’s book offers one set of powerful tools among others for the collective scholarship that needs to be produced. For the cultural critic, he suggests, and I would add for critical scholars across the board, the problem is whether a contemporary discourse of alterity can “be deployed to deconstruct the hegemony of the imperial account and disperse its authority” (p. 40).

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People Get Ready: African American and Caribbean Cultural Exchange. Kevin Meehan. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009. xv + 231 pp. (Cloth US\$ 50.00)

So much of the relatively recent anthropological, historical, and theoretical writing about the Caribbean has been about the difficulty to erect clearly defined boundaries around the region, or about the futility of eventually engaging in such an attempt as the islands' histories and contemporary sociocultural realities come along with connections to virtually all the regions and peoples of the world. In that sense, a book published in 2007, *Just Below South: Intercultural Performance in the Caribbean and the U.S. South*, to take only one example, explores some of these Caribbean connections by focusing on the material aspects of transhistorical and intergeographic relationships between what is usually understood to be the American South and the Caribbean. There is between them, as the editors write, a multiplicitous, decentered circulation of cultural elements that defines the "interculture" "not so much by a shared set of geographical boundaries or by a single, common culture as by the weave of performances and identities moving across and throughout it" (Adams et al. 2007:6).

The subtitle of *People Get Ready* points to the main focus of the book: the exchange of cultural politics between the Caribbean and African Americans—specifically within the United States. As Meehan writes in the book's opening:

At its best, African American and Caribbean cultural dialogue is a music of solidarity. In its choruses, this music articulates exemplary zones of relational community in which understanding is, in Édouard Glissant's conceptualization, not a grasping appropriation (*com-prendre* in the original French) but rather a process of *donner avec*, translated as "giving-on-and-with." (pp. 3-4)

Indeed, the book is about the long history of dialogue and circulation of cultural politics of solidarity between U.S. African American and Caribbean peoples with the objective to reach liberation. The preface doesn't leave any doubt as to what kind of "liberation" Meehan has in mind: he interprets African Americans' political expressions as those from a population colonized within the U.S. empire that should be linked to revolutionary nationalist cadres globally because they both suffer a similar domination by the United States ("the prototype of the international fascist counterrevolution," writes

Meehan [p. xiv], citing Black Panther field marshal George Jackson)—particularly in the Caribbean.

In his exploration of these exchanges of cultural politics, Meehan relies mostly on written documents, but also brings in sound recordings, video-taped performances, and interviews broadcast on television. The very first example he elaborates on is perhaps the most revealing as it gave the book its title: the musical exchange—over ten years—between Curtis Mayfield, with the song “People Get Ready,” and Bob Marley, with the song “One Love,” which must be considered as “a single unit,” an intertext that will allow for a better understanding of each song’s lyrics. In fact, the discussion of the lyrics of the Mayfield-Marley intertext leads Meehan to better theorize what he calls “the decolonizing contact zone where Caribbean and African American cultures meet in dialogue” (p. 9), while also tracing three examples of enduring exchanges of solidarity and cultural politics between African Americans and three Caribbean nations: Jamaica, Haiti, and Cuba. In Jamaica he explores the pattern of liberation rhetoric accentuated through evangelical contact that stretches back to 1783 and includes “Black Baptist,” “Native Baptist,” and “Ethiopian” churches. In Haiti he looks at everything from the participation of Haitian soldiers in the battles of the American Revolution, the impression of the Haitian Revolution on African Americans, and the migration of African Americans to postrevolution Haiti, to the designation of Frederick Douglass as American Consul to Haiti in 1889, and the support of African American Congressmen and -women and other leaders to the Aristide presidency. For Cuba he considers the African Methodist Episcopal Church missions, the migration of Afro-Cubans to Ybor City in Tampa, Florida, Afro-Cuban baseball players, participation in Negro League competitions, and the friendship between Arthur Schomburg and José Martí, followed by—among others—the literary collaboration between Nicolás Guillén and Langston Hughes.

After an informative introduction, the book unfolds in five chapters: Chapter 1 reveals Meehan’s theoretical framework and comparative methodology. Chapter 2 zeroes in on Arthur Alfonso Schomburg’s many connections to the Caribbean and their importance for his founding of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Chapter 3 reveals Zora Neale Hurston’s decolonizing goals and the way her “ethnographic narrative becomes ‘possessed’ by the Haitian *lwa* Papa Guedé” (p. 19) in *Tell My Horse: Voodoo and Life in Haiti and Jamaica* (1938). Chapter 4 shows how

Jayne Cortez's jazz poems, dedicated to so many Caribbean writers and artists, engaged with and extended a number of Caribbean literary and artistic movements to the hemisphere, including *négritude* in the Francophone Caribbean and *negrismo* in Cuba. Chapter 5 focuses on Haiti's "popular democracy movement (led by Aristide), and the role of African American solidarity in the recent history of Haitian democracy" (p. 20). The epilogue re-presents the argument in favor of bridging the multidisciplinary fields of inquiry called African American Studies on the one hand, and Caribbean Studies on the other, while also commenting upon more contemporary African American and Caribbean cultural politics, such as Wyclef Jean's self-conscious following of the Mayfield/Marley tradition, and the limits of popular culture to operate as a tool for liberatory cultural activity.

The book is well written and carefully argued. It provides a number of important points of entry into global black cultural politics (all U.S. and Caribbean based), what some have called "the global circuits of blackness." I recommend its adoption for graduate courses that deal with African and African Diaspora Studies theory. It would be particularly useful for the precise illustrations it gives to the theorizings of diaspora that are not limited to the more simplistic unidirectional travelings of black peoples and cultures from somewhere in continental Africa to elsewhere in the Americas, but that instead understand diaspora as the product of multidirectional movements and circulations.

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Adams, Jessica, Michael P. Bibler & Cécile Accilien (eds.), 2007. *Just Below South: Inter-cultural Performance in the Caribbean and the U.S. South*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Public Memory of Slavery: Victims and Perpetrators in the South Atlantic. Ana Lucia Araujo. Amherst NY: Cambria Press, 2010. xxii + 478 pp. (Cloth US\$ 134.99)

After decades of research and debates on the history of slavery and the slave trade and on the cultural links between Africa and the Americas, and fruitful theoretical developments on memory, remembrance, the invention of traditions, and public history, the time was ripe for a discussion on the public memory of slavery. Ana Lucia Araujo, Associate Professor of History at Howard University, chose Brazil and Benin to demonstrate the potential of the topic.

The theme is developed in broad terms and in long descriptive sections. The first chapter is dedicated to an overview of the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Americas. However, the ambition to cover such complex and frequently renovated fields resulted in simplification and failure to connect to the theme of the book. The second chapter deals with the emergence of memory of the slave trade and slavery by surveying the intellectual and social movements against racism and the initiatives to memorialize the past in the twentieth century. Some commonplace statements are mixed in with interesting insights. The discussion of the use of Gorée island as a “lieu de mémoire” explores quite well the contradiction between its relative insignificance during the slave trade and the attention it receives now. One complex question is missed: why did communist regimes in Africa choose to ignore race and slavery in their otherwise elaborate public memory construction? At this point, readers will realize that the questions driving the book emerge largely from the Anglophone debate on race and fail to take into account local—Beninese, Brazilian—perspectives that would render the discussion more complex and authentic. The third chapter surveys the historical links between the Gulf of Benin and Bahia using largely secondary sources. The result is uneven, heavy on descriptions, and light on interpretation. Little space is devoted to the migration of freedpersons back to Africa, a subject that is central to the connection between the two regions under study.

In the fourth chapter the theme of public memory takes center stage. Araujo focuses on the memorialization of slavery and the slave trade in Benin in the 1990s by recounting the local efforts to create events and spaces that could appeal to individuals from the diaspora and thus benefit

the tourism industry. She highlights the tensions between the interpretations advanced by UNESCO and those advanced by public memory initiatives in Benin. The “perpetrators” (as Araújo calls the descendants of the slave traders) and the “victims” (the descendants of the enslaved) are not at ease dwelling on the history of the slave trade and slavery. Both groups prefer to emphasize general cultural connections to the people of the diaspora. The reasons for that, central to the issue of public memory, remain undiscussed. Rich descriptions of the museography of the Ouidah Museum of History, located at the old Portuguese fort, and the Slave Route Memorial in Ouidah are among the highlights of the book. Yet one begs for more analysis of the choices made by the people responsible for those initiatives. The Brazilian parallel promised in Chapter 5 is left unfulfilled: after surveying the abolition of Brazilian slavery and the antidiscrimination initiatives of the twentieth century, Araújo reduces the manifestations of public memory of slavery in Brazil to Rio de Janeiro Carnival, soap operas, and a few public monuments and museum collections. To be consistent, a detailed treatment of Bahia would have been in order, since that region’s links to Benin are addressed throughout the book. But if it were to treat Brazil as a whole, why shouldn’t the Museu AfroBrasil in São Paulo receive the same attention as the one in Ouidah? Considering its extensive collection and professionally organized displays on the slave trade, slavery, and “contributions” of African descendants to Brazilian society, there is no reason for leaving it out.

The last two chapters, dealing with the way three elite Beninese families have dealt with the memory of the slave trade, move from overviews and general impressions to the stuff public memory is made of: people and the mementos they gather or create and expose, and the power relations involved. The renewed power of Francisco Felix de Souza, the slave trader who enjoyed benefits from his close relations to the Dahomean king, and the constructed power of the Vieyra and da Silva families, built on their returnee status, are truly remarkable. Pierre Verger, Michael Turner, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, and Milton Guran, among others, have written about them. Araújo contributes to this scholarship a discussion of the artifacts, the cults of remembrance, and the public spaces the descendants of “perpetrators” and “victims” created, both for their own internal politics and responding to an external demand.

Without clearly acknowledging it, the book highlights “the making of Afro-diasporic heritage,” a counterdiscourse to a Eurocentric perspective

that has marked the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth and presided over the selection of sites as well as material and immaterial culture as heritage. Pierre Verger, the French photographer who spent much of his adult life between Bahia and the Gulf of Benin collecting artifacts, documenting cultural practices, reconstituting local history, and exposing the connection between Bahia and the Gulf of Benin, is a central character in the construction of this Afro-diasporic heritage and his role should have been better explored in the book. It remains a challenge to study other such processes and actors in different regions of the Atlantic. *Public Memory of Slavery* should be read by those interested in the way slavery is represented in today's world.

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A Concise History of the Haitian Revolution. Jeremy D. Popkin. Hoboken NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. viii + 202 pp. (Cloth US\$ 89.95)

In *A Concise History of the Haitian Revolution*, Jeremy Popkin has brought clarity to the kaleidoscope of groups, personalities, shifting alliances, and rapid changes that characterized this period. Benefiting from the recent outpouring of work on Saint-Domingue and the Haitian Revolution, he has woven together primary sources and the latest insights from Haitian, North American, and European historians in an account notable for its sensitivity to contingency and complexity, and its firm anchoring in a global context.

As in his study of the first abolition of slavery (2010), Popkin's narrative highlights the contingent and indeterminate nature of these tumultuous events. He emphasizes that there was no direct or inevitable path leading from 1791 to 1804 and that outcomes might have been very different, reminding us, for example, how unintended and fragile abolition was in 1793. Also, by often outlining alternative choices available to the historical actors, he creates the sense of an undetermined and unfixed future facing them.

Though constrained by the limits of a short text, Popkin also skillfully illuminates the complexity of these events. He points out the great diversity of motives that animated the often bewildering number of groups and individuals involved, the lack of unity among them, and the reasons behind their sometimes shifting loyalties. One constant theme is the persistent division between the elite leaders, who wished to reanimate the plantation economy, and the mass of the people, who wanted greater autonomy and resisted efforts to return them to "disciplined obedience" (p. 104). Popkin also stresses the "complicated legacy" of the Revolution: violence, brutality, and authoritarian rule, on the one hand, and heroic sacrifice and achievement on the other.

Popkin tries to avoid a "purely celebratory narrative" that would distort history to produce a simple, triumphant story (p. 168). He points out, for example, that the regime did not simply crumble in 1791 and that early on its leaders did not yet envision the complete abolition of slavery. One great strength of the book is that two full chapters examine the era of "republican emancipation" (1793-1798) and Toussaint's creation of the authoritarian "Louverturean state" (1798-1801), a period sometimes elided in more triumphal narratives that move almost directly from the stirring events of the slave insurrection to the fierce struggle against the French.

Reflecting current interest in Atlantic and World history, Popkin firmly anchors the Haitian Revolution in an Atlantic context, demonstrating how events on the island shaped, and were shaped by, what was occurring in France, Europe, the United States, and the wider Caribbean. One of the book's major themes is the world historical significance of the Haitian Revolution, as the "most radical of the American revolutionary insurrections" (p. 2). Of the three Atlantic revolutions, only the Haitian Revolution enduringly committed itself to the abolition of slavery and to the elimination of racial discrimination. Yet this legacy was complicated and mixed as fear of another Haiti contributed to the rise of racism and a new European imperialism in the nineteenth century.

Accounts of the Haitian Revolution usually end in 1805, leaving readers to wonder why Haiti has "fallen behind other countries in terms of its ability to provide a good life for its people" (p. 157). Helpfully, Popkin has provided a chapter, "Consolidating Independence in a Hostile World," that outlines Haitian history between 1804 and 1843. He points out that, in contrast to other Latin American and Caribbean countries, Haiti had by the 1840s "achieved a modest but respectable level of development" and that "in the nineteenth century [its] political history was in some ways not that different from that of . . . France" (pp. 156-57). He argues that the country's more recent problems result from both internal factors, such as authoritarian rule, and external ones, such as domination by "foreign economic interests" and U.S. intervention (p. 158). Clearly, Popkin hopes that his readers will gain understanding of Haiti and not view its current problems and disasters as the "entire experience of the country and of its people" (p. 168).

While the available sources tell us mostly about the leaders, Popkin endeavors to achieve an account balanced between the elite and the masses. He devotes time to explaining the backgrounds, personalities, and goals of leaders such as Toussaint Louverture and Dessalines, but this is not simply a top-down story. He also describes the aspirations, experiences, and actions of the masses, highlighting the tremendous price they paid for freedom and the way they resisted efforts to return them to the plantations. However, the roles played by women receive less attention than they might have and the book would have been even stronger if additional material on them from the recent studies Popkin mentions had been included.

A Concise History of the Haitian Revolution provides valuable tools for the understanding and teaching of historiography. Mentions of key historiographic disputes, such as whether the initial resistance to the French invasion was planned or spontaneous, are woven into the narrative. In addition, Popkin includes interesting examples of the difference between historical research and historical memory. Finally, the book supplies an overview of the historiography of the Haitian Revolution, including its “silencing,” and an excellent and inclusive chapter on recent scholarship.

The book would be useful in a wide variety of college classes, including those on Atlantic, Caribbean, or Latin American history; on slavery and emancipation; and on the French Revolution and Napoleon. It should also be of interest to general readers seeking to gain a clear understanding of the people, events, and significance of these tumultuous years.

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Historical Dictionary of Haiti. Michael R. Hall. Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012. xxxiv + 293 pp. (Cloth US\$ 90.00)

Michael R. Hall's *Historical Dictionary of Haiti* provides a useful overview of the major people and events that helped to forge Haiti's distinct character. Taken together, the volume's bibliography, timeline, and dictionary entries form an easily navigable tool for all levels of research. In addition, its approachability makes it an excellent reference for anyone wishing to advance their knowledge of this, unfortunately little-understood, nation. While limited by their length, the entries contain a considerable amount of contextual data. It is difficult to summarize, without injustice, someone like Toussaint Louverture in three short paragraphs; yet, insomuch as possible, Hall abridges the histories of his subjects without diminishing them. Still, this volume is only an initial reference point for the topics, people, and relevant terms that comprise Haiti's past. A book of less than three hundred pages cannot satisfactorily address the history of an entire nation and, indeed, some will question Hall's choice to emphasize certain items, while forgetting others entirely. Yet, the *Historical Dictionary of Haiti* is an informative and well-constructed tool for students conducting research. It supplies comprehensive and practical data concerning Haiti's unique place in the history of the Americas and possesses value beyond a mere listing of the important elements in Haiti's past.

The dictionary includes helpful reference tools and an exceptionally practical bibliography. In the introduction there is a brief but inclusive explanation of the country's geography and demography, along with a short history that touches on major events. While too brief in regard to the prehistory of Haiti and heavily favoring the twentieth century, this narrative offers sufficient context for the dictionary entries that follow. Subsequent to the historical summary is a thorough timeline of Haiti that begins in December 1492 with Columbus's discovery of Hispaniola and continues to the January elections of 2011. Following the body of dictionary entries, the book closes with its most useful section—a concise, topical bibliography that includes literature in both French and English. Divided into broad categories of culture, economy, society, politics, and history, the bibliography is an excellent guide for those interested in more in-depth reading. The timeline, bibliography, and introductory history would efficiently serve the various stages of any historical project on Haiti.

The dictionary entries themselves contain foundational information about many relevant topics and persons. Several address broad themes fundamental to any country—*Economy*, *Art*, and *Education*; others discuss topics with particular significance for Haiti—*Slavery*, *Foreign Aid*, and *Tourism*. Meanwhile, entries for political leaders and well-known expatriates make up the most substantial portion of the book. The dictionary gives preference to information on important individuals, but it also includes more general concepts. *Human Rights*, for example, have been a major theme since the first moments of the Haitian Revolution, a fact the dictionary's content makes evident. Additionally, through entries such as *Earthquake*, *Hurricane*, and even *Coffee*, Hall demonstrates the vital role that Haiti's natural environment has played in shaping its history. Earthquakes are particularly conspicuous in the dictionary, permeating several disparate entries, probably a result of the book being written in the wake of the 2010 tragedy. Hall also presents information on Haiti's cultural particularities, briefly addressing the various arts, such as music, film, and literature, as well as aspects of religion, e.g. under *Voodoo* and *Drumming* ("a crucial component to all Voodoo rituals"). Lastly, some of the book's most helpful entries are those concerning foreign relations. These sections provide a fundamental and historically conscious understanding of the Haitian government's most critical relationships. One can quickly gain a basic appreciation for the nature of Haiti's connection to countries such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the United States, and France by referring to the appropriate entry.

In the end, the book's overall value is muted by the fact that a quick Internet search can reveal content of greater depth and equitable reliability for most topics. Online archives from university-supported sites, historical societies, and for-profit encyclopedias offer similar information, often in expanded form and free of charge. Still, Hall's *Historical Dictionary* is highly recommended as an efficient tool for accessing major points of information related to Haiti's history. No other single source contains a greater breadth of data on the subject.

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My Stone of Hope: From Haitian Slave Child to Abolitionist. Jean-Robert Cadet with the assistance of Jim Luken. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011. x + 279 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.95)

In his classic autobiographical novel, *Nässlorna blomma* (*Flowering Nettle*) (1935, 1936), Swedish Nobel laureate Harry Martinson (1904-78) relates how as a seven-year-old child whose father had died and whose mother had run off to the United States, he was “auctioned off” by the parish authorities to be taken care of by the lowest bidder, becoming a charity boy going “on the parish,” moving between farm households characterized by either awkwardness, cold lovelessness in the disguise of religiosity, or outright raw primitiveness before ending up at the old folks’ home at the age of eleven—the only place where he was received with love and tenderness.

This was Sweden a century ago, a country that, like Haiti today, still had a long way to go before the modern welfare society was introduced. Martinson and others like him were Swedish equivalents of the Haitian *restavek* of a century later, with the difference that the former were better off, in an institutionalized and controlled system, while in Haiti the mechanism is completely informal.

A *restavek* is a child handed over by a poor family to a better-off one, living with the latter, not as an adopted child, but as an exploited household worker, badly clad and fed, frequently beaten and sexually abused, and without access to school. The *restavek* system is frequently referred to as a modern form of child slavery, with children scrubbing floors, carrying water, emptying and cleaning chamber pots, setting the table without being allowed to eat with the family, and sleeping on the floor.

The most frequently cited (1996 UNICEF) figure claims that Haiti has 300,000 *restavek*, though this appears to be an exaggeration (Schwartz 2011). A more systematic study, carried out in 2002 by the Norwegian Fafo research institute gave a figure of 173,000 children between 5 and 17 years of age (Sommerfelt 2002), and a 2009 survey ended up with a figure of 225,000 (PADF 2009).

The writer who gave the *restavek* system a face was Jean-Robert Cadet. In his first book (Cadet 1998, 2002) he described his own childhood as a *restavek* and told how he managed to become a middle-class African American, benefiting from the American system of compulsory education, joining the army, and eventually getting a university education. The book was

well received and got a wide readership. Cadet testified before the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the U.S. Senate, and was given time on CNN, the *Oprah Winfrey Show*, and the CBS news program *60 Minutes*. A number of international NGOs decided to become involved. Altogether, the *restavek* issue was converted into what one commentator has called “a human rights, NGO, and media hysteria” (Schwartz 2011).

Whether Cadet actually qualifies as a *restavek* has been questioned, since he was left by a white father to his mistress and his father paid for him to go to the United States. He was also allowed to go to school. In retrospect, this matters less. The importance of *Restavec* lay in the fact that it exposed child labor in Haiti to the international community in a direct and intelligible fashion.

My Stone of Hope continues Cadet’s story, or rather, repeats it. More than half of the new book simply retells Cadet’s Haitian and American story in the same way as the first book, frequently word for word. *Restavec* ended with Cadet’s marriage and the birth of his son. It is not until page 185 in *Stone of Hope* that the story continues, with less than 100 pages to go. These are devoted to an account of what happened to Cadet after the publication of *Restavec*, his career in education, and his trips back to Haiti where he looked up family members and saw the school teacher who once took him on for free. He also reports his decision to give up teaching in order to become a full-time advocate for the abolition of child slavery in general and the *restavek* system in particular, his efforts to make the media interested in the issue, his direct intervention in a couple of *restavek* cases, and the formalization of his endeavor through the Jean R. Cadet Restavek Organization.

All this is fine, as far as it goes. What is missing is an account of how successful Cadet’s foundation (and other similar efforts) has been. Especially after the 2010 earthquake it has to compete for attention with up to ten thousand other NGOs. Is it fighting an uphill battle? Also, has the *restavek* system received new fuel from the calamity? These should be important questions, especially for Cadet, who has strong views on what the system does to society as a whole, and they should be dealt with in a broader, institutional and analytical, framework:

I do not exaggerate in asserting that the *restavek* system is destroying Haiti’s future and severely limiting the country’s potential for development and growth, even its

economic well-being. Often *restaveks* grow up to be adults who see no value in other people's lives because their own lives were never valued. They were given nothing, and they have little or nothing to give back, individually, relationally, or in the context of society. Understandably, they are ill-equipped for marriage or parenthood. Many become part of a cynical, hardened criminal caste. (pp. 274-75)

May we hope that Cadet will offer an analytical treatment of the *restavek* problem in a future publication?

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Tectonic Shifts: Haiti Since the Earthquake. Mark Schuller & Pablo Morales (eds.). Sterling VA: Kumarian Press, 2012. xiii + 271 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

This book, the newest anthology to address the situation of post-earthquake Haiti, might best be described as a testimony to a broad consensus of failure. *Tectonic Shifts* presents an array of overlapping voices asserting the failure of the international aid community and the government of Haiti in responding to the devastating earthquake in Port-au-Prince in January 2010. Its 47 brief essays are organized in three sections, dealing with geopolitical structures (i.e. preexisting vulnerability and disaster capitalism), on-the-ground realities (i.e. displacement and tent cities), and emerging movements (i.e. politics and civil society). Each writer attempts to make nearly the same argument—uncovering aid fiascos, detailing the continuing lack of water and sanitation systems, and decrying the ongoing need to protect human rights in Haiti.

The use of the word “failure” throughout the book points to its intended readership. Mark Schuller has problematized this concept before in the context of Haitian civil society organizations. “Instead of *having* failed,” he writes, aid groups in Haiti “*have been* failed by the same neoliberal policies and institutions that are ostensibly working toward their participation and empowerment” (2007: 68). The misattribution of the concept of failure—blaming aid providers rather than the neoliberal policy that governs them—leads Schuller to conclude that the existing model within which aid groups work should be destabilized. It does not appear that the spirit of that argument has made its way to this new collection, which is unfortunate, given the contributors’ sundry interests in failure in Haiti. In this regard, *Tectonic Shifts* can be seen as written by and for members of the aid industry in Haiti.

The book could also be seen as a text for policy-makers. Sixty percent of the articles are reprinted from other sources, including *Haïti Liberté*, the *Boston Haitian Reporter*, and non-governmental reports and blogs. Schuller and Morales acknowledge that the book grew out of a special 2010 issue of *NACLA Report on the Americas*. Edited by an anthropologist and a journalist, the diverse set of contributors includes professors and graduate students, policy experts, aid workers, members of the diaspora, and various NGO and civil groups. The reprinted entries offer interesting glimpses into the workings of the disaster response system and grounds for the consensus of

failure, but for the most part do not contribute information that is particularly new or surprising to those already familiar with Haiti and the earthquake disaster response.

A primary shortcoming for those familiar with Haiti—or, conversely, a strength for readers completely new to the country—is the brevity of the entries, which average four pages, rarely enough space for a fully developed argument. Many entries lack compelling, insightfully argued evidence to back up their claims. In only a few cases are authors succinct enough to make a clear case with sufficient evidence. A strong argument—probably the best in the collection—is made by Renaud Piarroux and his team of seven French and Haitian epidemiologists (pp. 173-76), who show that the cholera that appeared in the Artibonite Valley in the fall of 2010 came from a breakout earlier that year in Kathmandu, Nepal, and was carried to Haiti by Nepalese UN soldiers. Researchers, aid workers, and policy-makers would do well to remember the exact details that prove foreign introduction of cholera into Haiti.

Tectonic Shifts is, above all, a useful aid to institutional memory. The institution in this case is the aggregate of the Haitian government, international interests and pressures (including the UN's MINUSTAH mission), and the private non-governmental aid industry. Schuller and Morales write that they mean the book to be “a tool for educating students, journalists, solidarity activists, and humanitarians, hopefully inspiring and informing principled action” (p. 240). To the extent that journalists and activists ever do their homework before hitting the ground in Haiti, *Tectonic Shifts* would be a decent place to start.

Among the alphabet soup of acronyms, IDP (“internally displaced person”) is one of the most common in this text. The use of an acronym for a set of people, and over a million at that, seems inappropriate in a volume promoting the inclusion of Haitian voices. Moreover, absent from the book is any critical discussion of the victimization of Haitians, which has been a problematic and central concept of aid efforts since at least the 1980s. Instead, the entries sit easy with the simple explanation that “Haiti’s people were not silent, passive victims waiting for a handout” (p. 7), and leave the rest to the imagination.

Given that the earthquake’s most devastating physical damage was in the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area, the book’s subtitle “Haiti Since the Earthquake” seems a bit misplaced. The population in the capital is only

a fraction of the national population, most of which is concentrated in rural areas. Despite mention of the “Republic of Port-au-Prince” and the post-disaster movement to and from rural areas, *Tectonic Shifts* does not demonstrate that the earthquake was a truly nation-wide catastrophe. Focusing instead on the lives of the displaced in Port-au-Prince and the efforts to meet their needs, the ideas in this book hardly stray outside of existing conceptions of how Haiti works. The contributors’ consensus leads to a clarion call to activists, Haitian and international, to hold agencies and donors accountable to Haitians’ pressing needs in tent cities and destroyed neighborhoods.

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Kongos de la Guadeloupe: Rites d'une identité préservée. Justin-Daniel Gandoulou. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011. xi + 167 pp. (Paper €18.00)

In this book Congolese anthropologist Justin-Daniel Gandoulou continues his work on Kongo ethnicity in a diaspora context. He helps to explain the changes and cultural permanence of a group, the Guadeloupe Kongos, who, aside from the 1994 dissertation of Jean-Claude Blanche, are rather forgotten by social history and anthropology research on that island.

Six thousand Kongos were brought to Guadeloupe as indentured laborers after slavery was abolished (1848). The purpose was for planters to make up for the departures of newly freed men from sugar cane plantations and to keep wages low by saturating the labor market with new immigrants (Kongos, East Indians). One and a half centuries later, in a context marked by the dilution of Kongo ethnicity in the Creole melting pot of Guadeloupe and in French culture, an extended family, the Massembos, continues to follow a heterogeneous rite inspired by Kongo ancestors who arrived around 1860.

It is to that family and to its ritual that Gandoulou dedicates his book. He first focuses on a careful ethnography of the *grapp a kongo*, a ceremony of tributes to the spirits of the dead that takes place every November 1. He identifies original Kongo elements as well as the effects of adjustment to the local context: songs in Kongo language (noting that “nowadays, a Congolese Kongo listening to the Massembos singing will not find it particularly difficult to understand those songs” [p. 50]), with the use of Creole drums, a concession to Guadeloupean Catholicism where All Saints Day merges with the Feast of the Dead.

The book is also a reflection on the transmission of memory. Gandoulou stresses the crucial role of the women in the family, in line with the conventional model where, “due to slavery, the central role of women in the Antillean black family increased” (p. 86). But he stresses the specificity of the Massembos in terms of reproducing the original identity, while most Kongos yielded to the assimilationist pressure by the colonial order and creole blacks. The determined wish to protect the link to the ancestors and to Africa, in spite of unavoidable losses (e.g., the meaning of the Kongo songs is now not understood by those singing them), was due to their exclusion, resulting from the negrophobic, africanophobic environment in

which they lived. The cost of such tenaciousness was high: marginalization, stigmatization (sometimes within the very Kongo descendents of the island), and identification of the *grapp a kongo* with sorcery. "It seems it was in the strong belief that they existed for themselves and in the strong idea they had of their own culture that they summoned the necessary resources to continue what some have called 'resistance,' but what I would call counter acculturation" (p. 107).

This resistance was encouraged by the installation of the fourth generation of the family on a "sloping piece of land of about 5000 square meters" (p. 33) in the Cambrefort-Moravie countryside, in Capesterre-Belle-Eau (in the southeast of the island). The departure from the plantation to a place owned by the Massembos was a deciding factor in the durability of the *grapp a kongo*. The Massembo area, or "Tsibélo tsia ba Massembo" (p. 33), has become the territory of reference for their identity and their ceremonial center. Gandoulou presents a map, a detail of what is now a small family village, including a wooded area, which is sort of a sacred grove. He sees the practice of leaving ten meters between houses as a possible though not certain reminiscence of a Congolese custom that provides space near the household to bury the dead.

In an unforeseen turn of events, the Massembos and their *grapp a kongo* are now the center of unprecedented attention in Guadeloupe. The progress of decreolization, frenchification, and globalization has resulted in a Guadeloupean quest for internal heterogeneity, which now prompts them to reclaim those things that have survived cultural disappearance. Far from its former ostracism, the Massembo family ritual has become a famous ceremony, supported by Capesterre, with a growing attendance that helps to express a desire for Africa that had long been repressed. The new support is not without risk—the risk, as indicated by Denys Cuche in the preface to the book, "of seeing the ritual become a show intended for an audience increasingly foreign to its source" (p. 12). Already, the Massembos have been asked to take their ceremony to the city stadium for a great African feast. The family resists that threat of folklorization, even if one of its members has sold the sacred songs.

There are multiple benefits to this book. It tells about a group whose identity and history have been little studied and analyzes the case of a group that has resisted pressures for cultural disappearance. Lastly, it identifies

past and present paradoxical influences that interfere with the preservation of identities.

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La police des Noirs en Amérique (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyane, Saint-Domingue) et en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Hurard Bellance. Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2011. 331 pp. (Paper €30.00)

In the introduction to *La police des Noirs en Amérique*, Hurard Bellance contends that while much has been written about the condition of enslaved people in the French Antilles during the Ancien Régime, scholars have ignored the ways in which they were policed. So he set out to remedy this lacuna by writing a book “not to engage in a systematic comparison of the treatment of blacks in the regions covered by the study, but to get as close as possible to the truth about each aspect of policing” (p. 16).

The book consists of eight long, extensively detailed chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1 offers a demographic picture of blacks in the French colonies and their African origins. Heavy on population statistics, it also deals with the evolution of the small farming economy that emerged in other regions of the Caribbean in the seventeenth century as well. In Chapter 2, Bellance outlines the dimensions of policing, including the state agencies involved in the enactment and execution of law and order, the establishment of local laws, and the mechanisms of control, including the work of the dreaded *maréchaussée*—slave-catchers. The administrative divisions within colonies, the structure of the colonial administration, and the role of administrative officials are also taken up and explained with clarity. Chapter 3, which constitutes the heart of the study, focuses on the laws governing slave society and shows how French authorities dealt with contravention of the laws. The next two chapters are dedicated to slave resistance. One concentrates on *maroonage* with particular emphasis on the flight of slave drivers, the other on acts of poison in which the enslaved allegedly engaged and for which they were often punished in spite of lack of evidence. Chapter 6 looks at the ways in which Christian missionaries, mainly Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins, disseminated religion among the enslaved.

Chapter 7 addresses the social condition of freed slaves in France and the French colonies. Oddly, Bellance does not pay much attention to the ways in which the authorities policed freed slaves; rather, he dedicates much of the chapter to regulations governing interracial unions and manumissions based on concubinage. And no wonder, for he gives examples of white colonists who preferred to marry free black women of economic worth; this, for example, was the case of Saint-Martin l'Arada, one of the largest

planters in the Antibonite, Saint-Domingue, who owned more than 200 slaves, and who married a black woman, herself the owner of at least 30 slaves (p. 222). Aside from going into the reasons for liberating slaves, the mechanisms of manumission, and the measures for identifying and registering freed slaves, Bellance profiles many people of color (mostly women) who went to France and found employment as seamstresses and chamber maids. Were the laws enforced? This is the question that he raises and resolves in Chapter 8, where he shows that negligence and violation were widespread. But to argue, as Bellance does, that the colonial administration turned a blind eye to law enforcement for the sake of peace in the colonies is to overlook the fact that the white planter class acted with impunity in the interest of maintaining white racial solidarity. Clearly, the range of subjects that *La police des Noirs* covers is wide, but the text explores many areas of policing that offer glimpses into the lives of the enslaved which reinforce the findings of scholars over the last several decades.

The policing of religion is particularly revealing in this regard. Under the French *Code Noir* of 1685, slave owners were required to baptize the enslaved within a prescribed period after they entered the colonies, and instruct them in Roman Catholicism. Bellance notes that enslaved children would normally be baptized as soon as they got off the ships, and posits that the colonial administration depended on missionaries to disseminate religion, as their role was "to put Africans and Indians in touch with God" (p. 165). But there were never enough of them. The missionaries also owned slaves and dabbled in slave trading. For example, the Abbot Enos of Saint-Domingue held a public sale of elite slaves in 1773, and a parish priest in Croix-de-Bouquets, Saint-Domingue, sold a thirty-three-old Congolese slave to a doctor in Port-au-Prince in 1789 (p. 159).

Bellance is at his best when he examines the ways in which French authorities dealt with slave crimes. He highlights a number of cases involving theft and other offences. One occurred in Martinique in 1767 when a shopkeeper complained to the authorities that thieves broke into her enterprise and stole merchandise worth 14,000-15,000 francs. Upon investigation, authorities found some of the stolen goods among a group of enslaved people in an almost inaccessible mountainous hideout. Four of them were captured and imprisoned, and upon interrogation, revealed the identity of the others, following which most were executed. Another case involved a European who set up slaves in Guadeloupe to steal from his neighbors

and then purchased the stolen goods from them; he was charged 100 livres, whipped, branded with a hot iron, chained, and banished permanently from the colonies (p. 75).

A well-researched and solid synthesis of established scholarship on the French Antilles supported by overwhelming evidence drawn from archival data and secondary sources, *La police des Noirs* lacks analysis and a critical perspective on historical events. This is not history written from the perspective of the enslaved. The chapters are long and overloaded with citations, some spanning a page and more. The book's major contribution is its comparative approach, especially the inclusion of substantial material on French Guiana. For this, scholars and researchers will be grateful.

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Les noms de famille de la population martiniquaise d'ascendance servile: Origine et signification des patronymes portés par les affranchis avant 1848 et par les «nouveaux libres» après 1848 en Martinique. Guillaume Durand. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011. 650 pp. + CD. (Paper €54.00)

Les noms de famille d'origine africaine de la population martiniquaise d'ascendance servile et autres survivances africaines en Martinique (2e édition revue et enrichie). Guillaume Durand & Kinvi Logossah. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011. 322 pp. (Paper €30.00)

These two volumes are the fruit of considerable archival research on the origin of surnames among descendants of slaves in Martinique. *Les noms de famille de la population martiniquaise d'ascendance servile* (hereafter NF) is based on Guillaume Durand's doctoral dissertation. The second volume, an enriched edition of a 2002 publication, *Les noms de famille d'origine africaine de la population martiniquaise d'ascendance servile* (hereafter NA), co-authored by Durand and Kinvi Logossah, explores the African etymologies of the names. The preface by historian Lucien-René Abenon makes clear that the book's onomastic study of African names reflects the collaborative expertise of the two authors, with Durand working patiently through the registers and Logossah contributing his knowledge of "the science of African languages" (NA, p. 7). Readers interested in the two books might best begin with the more general one (NF) before taking on the co-authored volume, which gets more into the particulars. NF lays out the wide range of surnames that former slaves acquired and proposes a typology. NA focuses on one of the categories thus defined—that is, the names with African origins. I begin by looking at NF, since—in order to understand what anthroponymy can teach us about Antillean societies—it is useful to first consider the context in which surnames were assigned to former slaves as part of the complex project of integrating them into the larger society.

Durand's extensive study is rich in precious insights and specific details that give new perspective to interpretations of Martiniquean patronyms. The preface by Patrick Chamoiseau underscores the symbolic weight of these names acquired by decree. Should we see in them the "*privilege des vainqueurs*" who imposed the names? Or might the scribes or civil servants have been surprised by former slaves who were "capable of naming

themselves" (pp. 7-8)? We know that the acquisition of a surname has generally been viewed as the sort of farce that Édouard Glissant evoked in his novel, *Le quatrième siècle* (of which an excerpt is included in the opening section, pp. 15-16). Yet, in contrast to many recent contributions to this field, Durand keeps his distance from the dominant paradigm that sees the assigned name as a "wound," proposed most recently by Philippe Chanson (2007). Durand criticizes Chanson for indulging in a "fictional" anthropology when "drier" and "more prosaic" archival research would seem to offer different interpretive insights (p. 39). Surely, without being either too Manichean or too systematic, the historian's aim is what Glissant himself considered possible—that of a name that is deflected, appropriated, almost created by the person receiving this official identity, which turns the new freedmen into actors in what has become something more than a grotesquely staged theater piece. This interpretation gains support from the fact that contemporary documents and circulars make mention of new citizens being "invited to choose a name" and specifying that "names will not be assigned without the person's consent" (p. 191).

But Durand is less interested in formulating an overarching hypothesis about his subject than in presenting all the various materials he has uncovered and the analyses he has been able to draw from them. This makes for a dense study built on the foundation of exhaustive archival research in *registres d'individualités*, the administrative documents that recorded surnames attributed to former slaves upon abolition at a time when "it was necessary in one fell swoop to register 73,000 'new citizens' in the electoral lists and find a name for each one" (p. 17). Durand examined 53,702 documents, from which he extracted 19,391 names (p. 29). Added to this are 5,378 surnames taken from no less than 25,000 acts of manumission prior to the abolition of slavery in 1848, when the colonial authorities decided, on the basis of the royal ordinance of 1836, to give names to the then-freedmen, taking care to avoid using any name that existed in the white population (p. 164). All this produced a corpus of some 25,000 surnames. The analysis of them is preceded in Durand's book by the results of his research in many other administrative archives, reports, and inventories, even including a dense study that identifies the civil servant agents and the "educational course" that they took, in order to show the influence of a classic education in the creation of names (pp. 237-54).

In this first part the multifaceted approach that so much material demands is sometimes unfortunate, especially because the material is presented in a relatively undigested form such as a list of occupations (NF, p. 97) or an enumeration of civil servant agents (p. 221). Some of the information is only vaguely related to the onomastic research; there are, for example, long passages on demographic history or the jobs held by freed slaves. The brushstrokes may simply appear too broad, sometimes expanding into discussion of naming systems “throughout the world” (p. 257), which reduces their relevance to the Antillean case. Nevertheless, the book’s first part produces much of interest, from the analysis of colonial directives for assigning names to the description of the tools used to give names, including the meticulous and ultimately fruitless examination of *registres de matricules* for slaves mentioned in the individual acts. Durand demonstrates the way the process of name attribution respected familial continuity of the former slaves, from mother to child, in an overwhelming majority of cases, as well as the way that fathers officially recognized their children using the surnames they had gotten from their mother when they were registered (pp. 137-38). Here, as Durand recognizes, genealogical research can add a lot to the image formed on the basis of individual acts (pp. 496, 563). For it is not certain that all these acts carry a notation in the margin of the events that followed, such as the recognition or the legitimization of the child by the father, even though we have every reason to believe that this happened frequently, with the patronym leaving less uncertainty about the significance of the father figure in the family organization.

It is in the second part of the book that onomastic materials really come into play. They are presented according to a typology of thirteen main categories, revealing either fully linguistic categories (anagrams, family names/personal names, invented names, names with identifiable etymologies or sounds, etc.) or “homogeneous lexical fields” traceable to a cultural supply kept by the officers in charge of the name-giving (ancient history, mythology, elements of the natural environment, objects, etc.)—pp. 28, 269ff. This is where we learn about the diversity of both the sources and the processes that went into the invention of names. Those that “sound French” are dominant (30 percent), but Durand is committed to arguing that rather than originating in the island’s white population they either already existed in France or were invented by “*plausibilité francophonique*” (an expression that Durand borrows from Roland Barthes)—pp. 281, 293.

The description of each category is accompanied by tables and commentary in which Durand seeks to lay out the basis of his interpretation of the origin of the names, sometimes producing a goldmine of information such as that related to anagrams, names formed from Creole, or “insulting” names. The commentary on each category merits close attention, as Durand betrays the obstinacy and erudition that he pours into this project, with occasional overloads of meticulous attention which the CD was unable to absorb. All the rest is punctuated by prudent assertions that the patronym acquired by the former slave is less arbitrary than one might imagine and that it makes sense to keep in mind the possibility of names chosen by the freed people themselves (p. 590).

This main assertion is to be found again in the co-authored volume (NA), which is considerably briefer, and of which half is devoted to exhaustive lists of names with African origins identified in the registers. It constitutes an argument for the massive re-appearance of African names in the individual acts, as compared with the acts of manumission that preceded them, even though they represent a minority of the names attributed (13 percent, p. 35). Here again, the demonstration operates by (1) broadening our gaze to include information on the slave trade in Martinique (rarely synthesized in the same way in previous studies—pp. 45-62), (2) taking into account African survivals (many of which, unfortunately, border on general trivialities—pp. 63-90), (3) taking a quick but interesting look at the mechanisms of language formation of Creole in which Durand and Logossah write of “*rencontres phonético-syntaxico-sémantiques*” which take place in the context of relations between French, Creole, and African languages (p. 95). They conclude this contextualized panorama by reviewing the place of the name in ancient societies and in African societies where there’s a risk of losing from view the anthroponymic study of Martinique and entering the territory of ancient Egyptian, Hebrew, or Roman values (pp. 107-19). The table that documents the restitution of names from African origins, which takes 130 pages, may or may not leave readers doubtful about the soundness of the hypothesis that former slaves engineered a resurgence of African names upon abolition. But the merit of this book is to have mobilized impressive resources (see especially p. 300) in order to explore the link that they postulate between Martiniquan names and African etymologies, leaving sufficient room for doubt and questioning by speaking prudently of “plausible significance” (p. 269).

This is why the book's conclusion, which proposes a comparison of the percentages for particular slave-trade origins with the percentages for African names in the corpus calls for the same level of prudence (pp. 270-74). In any case, these two volumes (albeit poorly served by the publisher's less than elegant presentation) make available a wealth of previously unpublished material that future researchers on the subject will have to take into account, well beyond their implications for the questions raised about anthroponymy in Martinique.

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Climate & Catastrophe in Cuba and the Atlantic World in the Age of Revolution. Sherry Johnson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. xiii + 306 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

We know from writers and poets of the Caribbean that elements of the region's physical environment are vital ingredients of a cultural whole and not simply parts of a passive material backdrop. Historians certainly have not ignored the region's environments, yet it is only recently that they have given it special explanatory attention. Perhaps most notably, the work of historians Louis A. Pérez and Stuart Schwartz on Caribbean hurricanes and of John McNeill, with his emphasis on the region's disease environments, are beginning to lead the way toward a fuller understanding of the region's past using physical environmental emphases.

In *Climate & Catastrophe* historian Sherry Johnson emphasizes the role of climatic factors in helping to understand sociopolitical changes in colonial Cuba at the end of the eighteenth century. In a nutshell, her argument is that a series of devastating late eighteenth-century hurricanes caused such grief-producing damage to local shipping, trade, and subsistence cultivation that Cuban officials had to relax existing trading statutes, allowing, most notably, direct trade between Cuba and the newly-independent United States, rather than operating under archaic and restrictive Spanish shipping regulations. As part of a useful summary statement at the end of her study, Johnson writes "The undeniable existence of a climate shift, the political, economic, and social consequences of disaster, and a wider understanding of Cuba's place in the Atlantic World are the issues that most inform this research. This book has established the environmental reasons for why so many governors could exercise their autonomy when faced with a catastrophic situation" (p. 201).

Johnson's book has seven chapters, illustrated with a total of four pictures and three Caribbean-wide maps locating "hurricane strikes" in selected years. There are appendices, endnotes, and a bibliography. The chapter titles are derived from local officials' comments at the time and provide a pleasing, stylish format as opposed to a wooden list of topics, time periods, or events. Johnson thanks for research help many officials and librarians from a remarkable number of libraries in the United States, Spain, and Cuba, and one in Germany. In the book's front material she acknowledges permission

to use information and material from several of her previously published articles.

At the beginning of her book, Johnson relates her study to the scientific literature pertaining to the recurring (and imperfectly understood) El Niño and La Niña meteorological events that have influenced and disrupted global weather, including that in the Caribbean, apparently for millennia. An El Niño event, when periodic surges of warm Pacific air and water cause torrential rainstorms off coastal Peru, is associated with drought in the Caribbean, whereas the La Niña, when the Atlantic is colder than usual, is thought to increase hurricane activity in the region. Since reliable weather records date back only to the mid-nineteenth century, scientists from several disciplines have pushed probable El Niño and La Niña dates further back by developing ingenious surrogate measures, deriving these early dates from geological data, pollen analyses, and faunal remains. Johnson refers to her own qualitative archival research combined with others' tables developed from these "proxy" weather indicators to neatly clinch her point that the Caribbean region of the late 1700s was a period of abnormally severe drought and hurricanes, the latter most notably in 1766, 1772, 1780, and 1794.

Probably those most appreciative of Johnson's book will be historians of colonial Cuba. Her impressive archival research provides a clear picture of tensions between Spain and Cuba, personal and political rivalries, fine points dealing with the cumbersome and outdated Spanish shipping regulations versus more practical trade possibilities with neighboring areas, changing Cuban relations with Spanish Louisiana and Spanish Florida, and the disruptions hurricanes caused in Cuban subsistence production. At times, while reading a lengthy discussion about these or other issues, it is difficult to keep Johnson's main thesis in mind because her narrative seems not to be driving her argument forward.

It is not easy to accept fully that "environmental reasons" were the main cause behind the greater autonomy of local governors in Cuba at the end of the eighteenth century. To be sure, the effects of hurricanes and local storms were disastrous but weren't they simply several among a constellation of local and international events contributing to overall sociopolitical change? One is reminded of other times and other places in the Caribbean where, for example, a decade of low crop prices combined with low wages has led to labor disturbances in a declining local sugar cane industry,

after which cane cultivation finally is abandoned altogether or given over to another crop following a series of damaging storms, and “the weather” is thereby given the blame for the demise of a local agricultural industry already on its last legs. This point is less a criticism than a suggestion that, as in all good books, Johnson’s conclusions would be ideal material for a seminar discussion.

Two minor quibbles. A key article co-authored by Jöelle Gergis and Anthony Fowler dealing with the El Niño discussion early in the first chapter of *Climate & Catastrophe* has an abbreviated citation in the endnotes, yet the full citation is omitted from the bibliography. The author also should consult her thesaurus for the several robust synonyms that might occasionally replace her overworked use of “horrific.”

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Madrid habanece: Cuba y España en el punto de mira transatlántico. Ángel Esteban (ed.). Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2011. 276 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.80)

A particularly suggestive, expressive, and musical title graces this book on cultural relations between Cuba and Spain in the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first. These relations, as in other cases of countries with close historical links, transcend the official level, involving fruitful personal ties between citizens and organizations in various political and economic positions.

Thanks to the publishing house Iberoamericana-Vervuert, which constantly promotes bibliographic connections between Europe and Latin America, and the pen of Ángel Esteban (a professor of literature at the Universidad de Granada who specializes on Hispanic America with a particular focus on the Caribbean, and who has been energetically disseminating texts and authors from the two continents), we are able to immerse ourselves in a continual coming and going of people and ideas, a never-ending cultural exchange in the form of music, cinema, literature, and history—intersections that Esteban suggests in the prologue are a fundamental element of the “naturally transatlantic” identity.

The fourteen authors, some of whom also became the protagonists of their own tale, are, for the most part, men of Cuban origin who have divided their time between the island and exile. The oddness of their circumstances adds intrigue to the work, as well as a sense of the future and a spirit of dialogue in the construction of this “land that will be,” in the happy expression of Luis Manuel García Méndez when dealing with the vicissitudes of the journal *Encuentro de la cultura cubana* (1996-2009).

The striking individuality of the work is due to its character as a space in which different times, forms, and topics coincide, a mixture of academia and popular culture which invites readers to enjoy common and affective elements (a bit forced at times) and whose pages see the convergence of García Lorca with Leonardo Padura, Nicolás Guillén with Diego el Cigala, and Jorge Perugorria with Luis Buñuel, all inhabitants of a virtual “Madrid” that reaches Miami and so many other “Habanified” cities.

The work consists of four sections, focusing on historical, literary, cinematographic, and musical aspects, plus a final section offering personal and professional testimonials from representatives of Cuban culture on the difficulty of diffusing it and the complexity of institutional integration.

Esteban has managed to provide a balanced range of different views and therefore essays that vary in both arguments and quality (although a text on visual arts is missing from among these). The work begins with a lone text (the only purely historical one) by Pablo Guadarrama González, which establishes an interesting general framework of Spanish and Cuban cultural relations in the twentieth century, but the structure of which is somewhat muddled at times, dotted with certain strange terms (“self-discovering,” “self-establishing”) and referring euphemistically to the reality of Cuban exile since 1959 (“socio-economic and political factors”) or demands made for Spanish citizenship by the grandchildren of Spaniards (“trend of many descendants of immigrants to preserve their paternal citizenship”).

This is followed by articles that make large chronological leaps but which are highly suggestive, such as the essay by Rafael Rojas on imagery of the sea in Cuban literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since he has been living in Mexico, Rojas has challenged the island tradition of focusing on land by emphasizing the value of the sea as the focus of cultural discussions on Cuban exile through authors such as Heriberto Padilla, Gastón Baquero, and Reinaldo Arenas, as well as what this involves in terms of changes to the anthropological paradigm.

Virgilio López Lemus invokes *la décima*, a type of verse commonly used in Spanish Baroque and all over America and Cuba, to illustrate the importance of common factors on the two continents, while Guillermo Rodríguez Rivera personifies the mutual influences, in terms of time and space, of Federico García Lorca and Nicolás Guillén, who met in La Habana in 1930.

Ángel Esteban and Cuban specialist Yannelys Aparicio contribute an extensive essay on the writer Miguel Carrión, focusing on the Spanish heritage in Cuban identity. There is one suggestion, which I believe to be involuntary on their part, that José Martí “was able to champion all manner of revolutions and accommodating spirits” (p. 91); meaning, surely, the extensive uses and abuses of his thought by people with different ideologies and agendas.

Luciano Castillo’s essay on Luis Buñuel’s relationship with the city of La Habana, where the Spanish filmmaker never lived, discusses the influence on his work of the tales told at home in the capital during his father’s time. It is curious and interesting.

A chapter devoted to the renowned Cuban actor Jorge Perugorria, in the form of an interview, is disappointing, providing a stark contrast to the

exhaustive work of Emilio Cueto on the abundance of Spanish songs on the island—their authors, genres, topics, rhythms, and protagonists, all accompanied by a list of their compositions between 1604 and 2008.

Ángel Esteban's interview with Diego el Cigala, exploring the syncretic nature of the musical relationship with the great Cuban pianist "Bebo" Valdés, is interesting and expressive.

The book ends with texts full of interesting, little-known pieces of information, such as writer Leonardo Padura's on Cuban publishing trends in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the various exiles between Cuba and Spain, and the adventures of Cuban writers since 1959, as well as his personal experience of achieving the dream of so many of his fellow citizens by breaking into the Spanish publishing market—in Padura's opinion, the platform that has saved Cuban literature over the last two decades.

Luis Manuel García Méndez contributes an excellent essay on the journal *Encuentro de la cultura cubana*, which unfortunately disappeared in 2009. He makes a fierce defense of this great publication, which foresaw "the plural Cuba of tomorrow." His reference to inconsistent criticism and reluctance to have dialogue on the part of the Cuban authorities is complemented by the perspective offered by Alejandro González Acosta in the following chapter on Spanish and Cuban language schools which is, basically, a rough portrait of the exile, biased government, and asphyxia to which Cubans are subjected under the current regime.

To end on a high note, the Cuban poet Manuel Díaz Martínez, who lives in Spain, delves into the Spanish roots of his work, making reference to authors such as Gustavo Adolfo Becquer, Jorge Manrique, Francisco de Quevedo, Lope de Vega, the brothers Antonio and Manuel Machado and Miguel Hernández. Overall, this appealing book opens up unexplored territory on the mutual cultural influences between Cuba and Spain, and the benefits of interaction and resolving difficulties—a task which, ultimately, as Ángel Esteban himself suggests, touches on the most intimate and creative aspects of human beings in the community.

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Voices of the Enslaved in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Documentary History. Gloria García Rodríguez. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. xviii + 220 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, in the wake of the Spanish Bourbon Reforms and declining sugar production in revolutionary Saint-Domingue, creole elites introduced the plantation complex into Cuba in the hopes of refashioning the island as a key Caribbean sugar exporter. But to be successful, aspiring planters had to assert control over a society in which slavery had been petering out since the seventeenth century and a relatively unpoliced “reconstituted peasantry” (Mintz 1974) inhabited the countryside. The translation of Manuel Moreno Fraginals’s classic *The Sugarmill* (1976) provided English readers with a picture of the emergence of the sugar complex in Cuba and of the socioeconomic transformations that it entailed, including the expansion of slavery, the liberalization and intensification of the slave trade, the planters’ land grab, the introduction of the capitalist work discipline in rural areas, and the technologization of the Cuban export-based economy. Since the mid-1980s, historiographies in the United States and Cuba have combined an interest in the systemic political-economic transformations that the plantation complex brought about with attention to the way slaves and free people of color responded to its coercive powers. The perennial problem that historians involved in this project have had to confront has been that of tracing enslaved people’s voices and forms of political action within a record that had been produced by colonial elites and slaveholders. The sophisticated translation of Gloria García Rodríguez’s *Voices of the Enslaved*, originally published in Mexico in 1996 and then in Cuba in 2003, opens up new, little explored territory for scholars of slavery in the Atlantic world.

Based on primary sources from the collections of the National Archives of Cuba, which she prefaces with a nuanced essay on the nineteenth-century transformations of the island, García provides readers with an entry point into enslaved people’s worlds and modes of interacting with political authority that have traditionally remained difficult to access for U.S.-based scholars. The archival gems that constitute the center of the collection are slaves’ petitions, judicial testimonies, and denunciatory letters to colonial figures through which enslaved people tried to secure rights or slaveholders’ obligations toward them that were supposed to be guaranteed by the law.

In the absence of abundant autobiographic writing and family correspondence, judicial cases have been the main source that historians of Cuba could use to capture slaves' social worlds, whose richness García's collection brings to the fore. But her attention to the law of slavery is not merely the outcome of the sources that are available, she argues; more importantly, perhaps, the law had been a critical avenue for enslaved people to resist oppression. The organization of the sources within the collection, as well as the reflexive caveats that García raises in her introduction suggest that the volume approaches slaves' voices as mediated occurrences, which, even though framed by authoritative figures who controlled the legal process, can still provide a rich picture of slaves' political goals.

García's collection shows enslaved people's juridical savvy as early as the 1820s, the moment when the Cuban plantation complex was coming of age. The timing of these early petitions suggests that slaves had been assertive political agents in the judicial field decades before the Cuban War of Independence and before the reformist measures to abolish slavery, periods when, as several historians have argued, judicial action among slaves and free people of color became firmer and more frequent.

The collection's temporal framework spans the 1820s to 1886 (when slavery came to an end). García argues that there are yet few available archival sources that would be similarly rich for the period prior to the entrenchment of the plantation system in Cuba and that would provide an entry point into how people of color experienced the transition to it. This is not, however, a weakness, since the power of the overall argument lies in García's attention to the way the plantation, despite its tremendous violence, did not succeed in reducing enslaved people to the status of speechless objects who could not exert any political action.

The sections of the collection zoom in from the formal aspects of slavery, such as the different slave laws and codes within the Spanish Empire that were introduced after 1789, to the social organization of the plantation system, the social networks of support that enslaved people established, the forms of violence through which slaveholders sought to assert their control, and the paths to freedom. The sources suggest that the paths to freedom included travel to "free soil," a topic that has recently interested historians focusing on the way Atlantic circulation may have resulted in the cross-fertilization of different vernacular or formal ideologies of rights, marronage,

coartación (a practice that relied on the customary right of buying oneself from one's owner at a pre-established price), or insurrection.

The volume offers a sophisticated, multistranded picture of slavery in Cuba after the entrenchment of the plantation system, and, as such, it can open up new avenues of inquiry for scholars of slavery in Latin America and the Atlantic world. It can also serve as an excellent primary source companion to teaching both graduate and undergraduate courses on these topics.

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The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World. Michele Reid-Vazquez. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. xiii + 251 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Both Afro-Hispanics (*ladinos*) and African captives (*bozales*) were present in Cuba in changing proportions during its entire post-Columbian historical trajectory. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Europeans supplemented the island's dwindling indigenous labor force by importing captives from the west coast of Africa or other slave markets that subsequently emerged elsewhere in the Antillean archipelago. The influx waned at the conclusion of the Caribbean phase of the Spanish conquest of the New World, when the bulk of Iberian immigration and trade shifted to Mexico and Peru. At various points since then, countless bondsmen and women of African descent took advantage of interimperial rivalries by fleeing to remote areas in Cuba from the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Saint Domingue in the hopes of recovering their freedom. The brief 1762 British occupation of Havana and the ensuing overhaul of Cuba's defenses and mercantile ties to Spain begun by Charles III rekindled and intensified the African slave trade, swelling the island's nonwhite ranks. Despite the fear of a potential race war that was set off by the Haitian Revolution and British pressure on Spain to abolish the traffic, the number of Afro-Cubans continued to expand throughout the nineteenth century.

The extensive involvement of Afro-Cubans in just about every facet of life in the Spanish Caribbean colony has been widely recognized but unevenly studied. African captives and their manumitted kinfolk toiled on land and at sea, in the cities and countryside, even on the forests and mountains where their work was needed. At times, some engaged in economically viable activities which enabled them to acquire their freedom through self-purchase or *coartación*. But that self-empowering legacy has drawn the attention of fewer investigators than the gripping record of the enslavement and racialized exploitation of the African captives. Consequently, the intricate ways through which Afro-Cubans fought back attempts to dehumanize them have not been as well documented. Michele Reid-Vazquez's book joins a growing body of scholarship that aims to rectify this imbalance by revisiting the events surrounding *La Escalera*, an island-wide crackdown on an alleged conspiracy that the local authorities believed involved a vast group of enslaved and free colored co-conspirators.

Reid-Vazquez is not concerned with the evidence, real or contrived, that the colonial officials reputedly uncovered to support the existence of the subversive plot. Her stated goal is not to ascertain the validity of the government's claim that justified the repressive measures. Rather, she re-examines the record of harassment, detention, interrogation, confiscation of property, banishment, incarceration, torture, and summary executions faced by the indicted in order to go beyond the standard treatment of *La Escalera* as a vicious backlash directed mainly against free and unfree people of color. Delving into the files of the accused and victimized, she pays particular attention to their solvency, literacy, and membership in cultural or religious institutions, and their deepening connections to the social fabric and defense infrastructure of the colony. The reassessment enables her to gauge the social and economic participation of those targeted or punished during *La Escalera*, as well as the strategies they and their relatives employed to challenge the charges leveled by the repressive colonial state.

In her quest to uncover how Afro-Cubans countered the attack, Reid-Vazquez was faced with two contrasting, but ultimately interrelated lines of interpretation. The more familiar and moving of the two is the story of prisoners of wars, victims of kidnapping, and quarry of slave raiders who are spirited out of their homelands and sold off as slaves and end up brutalized or dead on Cuban plantations. After exhausting various forms of day-to-day resistance, they strike out for freedom only to be violently crushed. The other view concedes the painful stories of abductions, cultural dislocation, debasement, and brutalized treatment, but emphasizes the agency or determined self-actualizing ethos of enslaved Africans and free coloreds in their attempts to assert their humanity. It is this latter perspective that informs Reid-Vazquez's reconsideration of *La Escalera* and its aftermath.

The innovative approach moves *libres de color* from the margins to the forefront of Cuba's complex development, and in the process exposes the limitations of the socioracially stratified order that sustained it. Her work traces the demographic ascendancy of Afro-Cubans via manumissions, natural reproduction, and immigration from other Spanish American regions. It shows how they carved a niche for themselves—in spite of the institutional barriers placed in their way—by turning certain occupations to which whites limited them, such as the artisanal trades, domestic service, and the military, to their advantage. In response to *La Escalera*,

the *libres de color* took advantage of every opportunity, including judicial appeals, to counter their oppression and preserve their social, economic, and political gains.

Even when exiled, the “*negros expulsados*” built networks to maintain contact with one another. Relatives also pressured the colonial authorities for their release and return to Cuba. The dissident activities in which Afro-Cubans engaged at home and abroad, especially in the United States and Mexico, also created diplomatic difficulties for Spain, which relied on propaganda and censorship to quell criticism of its handling of *La Escalera*. The metropolis also instituted immigration restrictions against people of color to prevent them from landing in, visiting, or entering Cuba and Puerto Rico and thus minimize communications with outside “agitators.” As Reid-Vazquez observes, Spanish imperial overseers considered the deportees’ diasporic cells in places like New York City a potential threat to Iberian colonial rule and slavery in Cuba.

At the end of the day, *La Escalera*, as *The Year of the Lash* shows, represents more than the orchestrated, bloody onslaught against slaves and free blacks that is often stressed in standard accounts of Cuban history. It entailed a series of coordinated, deliberate attempts to terrorize the enslaved population into submission and roll back the socioeconomic advances of Afro-Cubans, whose growing successes posed a serious menace to the slave-based plantation society. The public spectacle of torture and executions was indeed a ruthless show of force. But as Reid-Vazquez demonstrates, it was one component of a multilayered disarticulation campaign that included proposals to whiten the island’s population, the dismantling of free-colored military units, the suppression of *cabildos de nación*, efforts to dislodge *libres de color* artisans, midwives, domestics and small shopkeepers from key urban areas of employment, and the disruption of communication channels that tied Afro-Cubans to the larger Atlantic world.

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From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898. Bonnie M. Miller. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011. xv + 324 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

From Liberation to Conquest adds to recent scholarship on visual and popular culture aspects of U.S. imperialism around 1898. In contrast to accounts framed around particular cultural producers and forms of cultural production, it starts with familiar narratives pertaining to the U.S. interventions of 1898 and uses visual and cultural analysis to enrich and, in some cases, shift our understandings of these events. Although the ground it covers is well trodden—involving U.S. depictions of suffering Cubans, brutal Spanish villains, manly U.S. saviors, and ostensibly childlike and otherwise racialized islanders, to name a few topics—it provides a number of new insights.

Bonnie Miller goes beyond earlier discussions of the passive Cuban woman by considering depictions of Cuban women's purposeful manipulation of their sexuality for political ends. In contrast to scholarship emphasizing the celebration of U.S. military masculinity during the Cuban campaign, she situates such celebratory accounts in the context of U.S. military negligence, which contributed to a typhoid epidemic among the ranks. Miller finds that well before the Philippine campaign led to concerns about degeneracy among U.S. forces, critical reports highlighting the frailty, sickness, and incapacity of U.S. servicemen replaced images of suffering Cuban civilians. In her commendably nuanced reading of military manhood, Miller also reminds us that the U.S. public did not always treat servicemen as heroes—in one parade, onlookers pelted marching soldiers with food, perhaps due to the imperial turn that the war had taken.

Miller is concerned not only with the contents of press coverage, but also with the production and cultural afterlives of that coverage. She thoughtfully assesses the ways that publishers molded news stories to fit familiar and popular narrative conventions. She investigates how the press made some battles—especially the battles of Manila Bay, Santiago Bay, and San Juan Hill—into signal events and some servicemen, such as Richmond P. Hobson, into military celebrities. Going beyond a mere cataloguing of the different racial stereotypes applied to the nation's new subjects, she carefully tracks how racialized depictions of Filipinos changed over time (though with little attention to the positive appraisals mustered on occasion by anticolonialists). She contrasts coverage of the war in Cuba with

that in the Philippines, finding that only in the latter conflict did images of dead bodies figure prominently.

As part of her emphasis on cultural production, Miller provides some coverage of who did the reporting, which of their stories found audiences (the ones on U.S. military successes more often than the ones on U.S. military shortcomings), and how censorship and communications technology affected news transmission. She looks at a variety of means of communicating ideas about Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines, including plays, world's fairs, Wild West shows, battle reenactments, parades, cinema, celebrations, photography, souvenirs, and advertisements. Miller finds that "the celebration of U.S. militarism in visual and popular media was so widespread that escaping its influence was nearly impossible" (p. 118).

So what were the political ramifications of all this coverage and cultural engagement? Miller rejects the lingering thesis that the yellow press whipped up sufficient frenzy to lead the nation into war. It had limited circulation—at most 3 percent of the nation's population—and a reputation for excess and misrepresentation. The president, she points out, looked elsewhere for news. So what about the larger media environment that the book attempts to characterize through a sampling of forty-three newspapers and periodicals? Miller seems loathe to grant them too much influence either, lest that undermine President McKinley's accountability. By setting up the issue as a matter of either presidential *or* press responsibility, Miller misses opportunities to more fully situate McKinley (and the congressmen vested with war-making power) in their larger cultural context.

By skirting the relations between policymakers and popular culture, Miller leaves her readers with a fuzzy sense of causality. *From Liberation to Conquest* is sometimes better at explaining how war became a spectacle than what the implications of being a spectacle were. Miller seems torn between arguing that representations of war were too inconsistent and multivalent to have specific political consequences and that the spectacular production of war advanced U.S. imperialism.

Although her close readings are very good, her finding that the drama, heroism, and action that characterized depictions of events in Cuba did not figure so largely in accounts of the Philippine-American War calls for further explanation. If sensationalizing the Cuban crisis proved a moneymaker for the press, why not for the Philippines too? This question is all the more pressing due to Miller's concluding claim that the cultural productions

of the period “functioned to secure the foothold of image, spectacle, and drama in American media” (p. 259).

Wide though the scope of this research is, especially in visual materials (many of which appear in the book), it is worth noting that *From Liberation to Conquest* focuses on publications aimed at native-born white Americans. It pays little attention to Cuban, Hawaiian, and Philippine self-representation efforts.

All things considered, however, this is a lively work of cultural analysis, well-suited to classroom use (despite the absence of a bibliography). It is of likely interest not only to those who would understand U.S. imperialism around 1898 but also to anyone who has ever wondered how media-made spectacles came to attract more attention than the on-the-ground complexities behind them.

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Debating U.S.-Cuban Relations: Shall We Play Ball? Jorge I. Domínguez, Rafael Hernández & Lorena G. Barberia (eds.). New York: Routledge, 2011. xix + 268 pp. (Paper US\$ 39.95)

This timely publication, edited by two of the United States' most distinguished analysts of Cuba and one of Cuba's most distinguished analysts of the United States, is a sequel to an earlier volume written at the end of the cold war (Domínguez & Hernández 1989). At that time, with the Soviet Union gone and U.S.-Cuban scores settled in Central America and southern Africa, the authors thought it a propitious moment for improvement in U.S.-Cuban relations. Fast forward to today, a generation later, and little seems to have changed in the relationship. Old enmities endure; U.S.-Cuban confrontation is "stubborn and endless," as one writer puts it.

In fact, U.S.-Cuban relations are different today, and the changes have been for the better. Many volumes have explored the ongoing conflict between the two countries but there has been little scholarship on the ongoing cooperation between the United States and Cuba. This book more than fills that void. While the collection of essays that Domínguez, Hernández, and Barberia commissioned for this volume do acknowledge the evident tension in U.S.-Cuban relations, they notably highlight elements that have led inexorably to cooperation.

The book explores six topics: political, economic, security-related, and cultural issues, the Cuban-U.S. diaspora, and the U.S.-Cuban-European triangle. Each one is discussed by one scholar who resides in Cuba and one who resides outside. Each chapter address three questions: what has happened, what is happening, and "what if..." The goal is to identify those issues where differences are likely to remain and those interests that overlap and around which bilateral collaboration is ongoing. While there are sometimes substantive differences between the coupled authors, differences also arise naturally because of their varying intellectual and experiential backgrounds as political scientists, economists, historians, sociologists, and former diplomats.

It is unusual to read a book about Cuba that describes positive dimensions to its relationship with the United States. Domínguez cites a number, most of them launched in the late 1980s and early 1990s: professional military relations at Guantánamo, cooperative coast guard-to-coast guard relations, large-scale agriculture trade, effective bilateral migration discussions,

excellent hurricane tracking, cooperation on drug interdiction, expanded academic and cultural exchanges, and large diplomatic missions in each other's capitals. He writes, "Cuba and the U.S. are already, in some respects, exemplary neighbors" (p. 32). Several of the "what if" sections have creative and realistic ideas for building on the two nations' not inconsequential common interests. We finish the book with a degree of optimism about what the bilateral relationship might and can be.

Debating U.S.-Cuban Relations will be good reading for pessimists as well. It analyzes each country's history with the other and provides an avalanche of evidence that describes the mistakes, misinterpretations, misreadings, and misgivings that have characterized that history. Although Cuba specialists will know much of this material, the book is spiced with new research on both sides. It is not well known, for example, that the United States seriously debated a retaliatory attack on Cuba after the 1996 shooting down of two U.S. civilian planes.

The essays touch only lightly on the economic policy changes currently underway in Cuba since they were being launched as the book was going to press. But the chapters on Cuba's economy are exceptionally good, contain excellent data, and present an objective judgment of how both Cuba and the United States would benefit economically if Cuba's reforms continue and are expanded and if U.S. sanctions are lifted. U.S. business will be particularly interested in the authors' projection of Cuba as a significant new market.

For U.S. readers, an appealing though unarticulated subtheme of the book is Cuba as a "normal" country. Cuba has diplomatic relations with 181 countries (are there many more in the world?), including all of Latin America and the Caribbean. Like the United States in the post-Cold War era, it has redefined national security to include nonmilitary threats such as drugs, epidemics, illegal immigration, and natural disasters. Like the United States (and much of Europe), it is struggling to grow its economy and create jobs, manage growing racial diversity, protect the environment, get along with a troubled neighbor (Mexico), pay down unprecedented levels of debt, and reduce drug consumption. Could Cuba be any more "normal?"

No book can cover all the topics a reviewer would like to have included. Still, it is unfortunate that there was not more analysis of some issues that figure hugely in the bilateral relationship, such as the so-called "Track II" programs administered by the U.S. Agency for International Development

and loathed by the Cubans, the Alan Gross and Cuban 5 cases, and the seemingly far-reaching changes occurring in the Cuban-American community, especially its engagement with the economic reforms currently underway in Cuba. Perhaps in a future book the editors might explore the changing domestic politics of U.S. policy toward Cuba and Cuban policy toward the United States. As generational shifts occur in both countries and emerging new coalitions advocate for change, it is important to understand the weight of the new players, their goals, and their strategies.

This is an important book, in part for what it describes, in part for who the writers are, and in part for what it projects: it shows that in spite of a history of non-normal relations, there are practical solutions to issues of common interest.

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¡Venceremos?: The Erotics of Black Self-making in Cuba. Jafari S. Allen. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011. xii + 241 pp. (Paper US\$ 23.95)

In *¡Venceremos?* Jafari Allen offers a theoretically sophisticated glance into the contemporary lives of black Cubans. Like much of the recent ethnographic scholarship on Cuba, Allen's work transcends simplistic political slogans to highlight the contradictions embedded in contemporary Cuban life. To accomplish this task, he draws on a range of analytical traditions including cultural anthropology, black diaspora studies, and feminist and queer studies.

Allen juxtaposes meditations on cultural theory with the daily realities of black Cubans, highlighting how they struggle against racism and heteronormativity. Yet, rather than represent his collaborators as victims of what he calls Cuba's "reglobalization," he argues that people's "self-making practices of erotic subjectivity" offer a type of resistance that "moves toward freedom" (p. 14). In reflecting on erotic subjectivity, Allen moves away from a traditional focus on sexual orientation or homosexuality to a more expansive view of "sensual and erotic power" (p. 58). This allows him to include heteronormativity and queer sociality more broadly, echoing a trend in queer anthropology to think about desire rather than the culturally imbued categories of homo-, hetero-, and bisexuality.

One of the most significant contributions of *¡Venceremos?* is its application of intersectionality—an analytical framework that recognizes the co-constitution of race, gender, and sexuality—to lived experience. Allen clarifies that he is not simply focusing on "black gay and lesbian Cubans seizing power to transform Cuban society," but rather showing how "intimate spaces of autonomy" arise for people with "multiply subaltern identities" (p. 14). This intersectional approach inspires Allen to take readers down multiple paths including current attitudes toward gender conformity, textual readings of Cuban films and music, and historical revolutionary ideologies of sex and gender.

The emphasis on intersectionality shapes each chapter, as multiple themes and historical eras crisscross throughout, rather than remaining relegated to their "proper" place. In the first chapter, Allen sets the stage by offering his observations as a *flâneur* in Havana and Santiago de Cuba, reflecting on how the gazes that he encounters—Cuban, tourist, and "the state apparatus"—misrecognize him.

In Chapters 2 and 4, Allen delves into the history of revolutionary discourses of race, gender, and sexuality in the construction of Cuban nationalism. Chapter 4, in particular, astutely examines how revolutionary heteronormativity supported racism. Here Allen offers a creative reading of the Cuban film *De Cierta Manera*, directed by black Cuban filmmaker Sara Gómez, as well as an analysis of revolutionary campaigns beginning in the 1960s. For instance, he provides an incisive critique of revolutionary heteronormativity through his criticism of the Family Code, which was passed in the first decades of the revolution to promote domestic gender equality. Similarly, he argues that the revolutionary promise of a “raceless” society demanded that Cubans of color could enjoy social mobility only if they were “willing to make themselves into *proper* Cuban subjects” (p. 65). His findings confirm much of the scholarship on race in Cuba, which critiques the government’s silencing of public discourses around racial inequality.

Chapters 3, 5, and 6 theorize black erotic subjectivity through the self-making practices of Cubans. In Chapter 3, Allen illustrates his argument for the “politics of erotic transcendence” through the experiences of a transgender transformista and a young heterosexual university student who is transformed by his friendship with Cuban lesbians. He argues that erotic transcendence allows people to move from individual self-realization to transforming “hegemonic practices of the public” (p. 97). In the fifth chapter, he returns to these themes through an exploration of queer sociality and friendship. Tracing one woman’s participation in Grupo Oermi, a gathering of lesbian and bisexual women through the state-sponsored National Center for Sexual Education, he provides important insights into female same-sex desire in Cuba.

Chapter 6 turns to male sex work and offers many fresh observations regarding sexual labor. Allen suggests that the commodities that inspire sex labor provide a critical way of refashioning black urban subjectivity. He explains that in contexts in which everyone is poor, social class and success are determined by what one “*has on* and how one looks” (p. 38, his emphasis). Neither victims nor unfettered agents in their negotiations with tourists, sexual laborers enjoy opportunities “to inhabit and perhaps be remunerated for performances that northern subjects expect to see, or those that stimulate their own imaginations” (p. 40). Allen points out how these shifts offer new forms of personhood, but also foster generational tensions between black men around respectability.

While the themes of blackness, gender, and erotic subjectivity appear as co-constituting elements, Allen's relationship is not the same to each. For instance, he forcefully critiques the imposition of a universal queer subject onto the Cuban context, but sees diasporic "blackness" as transcultural and self-evident. In contrast, other scholars have shown how Cuban racial identities and color hierarchies are unclear and contested in practice, often shifting around context, familial ties, and official observations. Nevertheless, Allen's identification with the blackness of his interlocutors allows a palpable intimacy with his collaborators, making *¡Venceremos!* a provocative guide through the complicated terrain of gender, race, and sexuality in contemporary Cuba.

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Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic. Melina Pappademos. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. xi + 324 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic analyzes the racial politics and culture of black civic and political activists during the Cuban Republic of 1902-1958. Based on research in U.S. and Cuban libraries and archives, it focuses principally on black social clubs, relying on their publications and the Afro-Cuban press.

Melina Pappademos proposes to go beyond studies of Cuban racial binaries and to destabilize “race as a static, analytical category by recovering the many ways black Cuban activism challenged misrepresentations of black life” (p. 11). To do so, she brings in class, ethnicity, cultural practices, and gender. She also aims at “decentering nationalism as the principal frame for understanding racial politics and black activism” and at “excavating the multiple social and political communities that blacks created within the larger system of republic” (p. 10).

Her book builds on and dialogues with the existing literature. Carefully referenced, it begins with an examination of Cuba’s early republican structures, which combined liberal democratic institutions with patron-client relations and maintained colonial racial hierarchies simultaneously with claims of social egalitarianism. Chapter 2 analyzes how black political elites managed to enter the formal political bipartisan structures at the local level, gaining limited access to republican resources. Next, Pappademos focuses on black political heterogeneity and coalition building by examining alternative Afro-Cuban civic communities that questioned the “civilization” discourse of black political elites. She shows how “Africanist” mutual aid societies continued to claim relationships with distinct African ethnic identities without adhering to notions of “African atavisms” as threats to Cuban modernity.

Chapter 4 discusses the writings by Afro-Cuban intellectuals, such as Rafael Serra and Juan Gualberto Gómez, on blacks in the construction of the Cuban nation. These journalists attempted to promote black integration in the body politic at a time of racial determinism, advocating bourgeois mores and rejecting the “African atavisms” displayed in the social practices of many Afro-Cubans. Yet Serra also denounced structural racism and social inequalities a dimension of his discourse unfortunately not mentioned here.

Chapter 5 covers the mid-1910s to the Revolution of 1933, when black club leaders increased agitation for access to republican resources. Around 1933, new organizations such as unions, student associations, and the People's Socialist (later Communist) Party challenged the old system. Nationalism and populism shook arrangements between black clubs and mainstream white politicians, and fully revealed class tensions among Afro-Cubans. The final chapter, subtitled "Political Change and Challenges to the Black Political Elite," examines this turbulent period, but also returns to the corrupt dictatorial administration of President Gerardo Machado (1925-1933) and the antiblack violence of 1919. The mixing of these periods tends to be confusing and to mitigate the argument that change indeed took place. Moreover, the primacy of patron-client relations in Cuban politics involved black clubs as well as other organizations, such as the People's Socialist Party (p. 200), and continued under Fulgencio Batista in the 1940s and 1950s.

The book includes illustrations, principally portraits of Afro-Cuban leaders. Yet one figure provides more than a face to a name. The cover of the first issue of the elite Afro-Cuban review, *Labor Nueva*, dated February 20, 1916, displays a regrettably illegible letter from white President Mario G. Menocal calling on "blacks to work toward Cuban racial harmony and greater black civic responsibility" (p. 154). That the tiny black elite needed the endorsement of the president of the republic to launch a "*revista literaria ilustrada*" reveals the narrow margin left for "black political activism" a few years after the 1912 massacre by the Cuban army of thousands of men, women, and children chiefly because they were black.

Throughout her study, Pappademos shows that in republican Cuba black political activism was only partially motivated by race. Yet she does not explain why in Cuba, unlike in any other Latin American society, individuals of African descent did or had to?—join in a variety of black clubs, called "*sociedades de la raza de color*" until the revolution initiated by Fidel Castro. Although she recognizes Cuba's entrenched racism, she doesn't dig into its roots. Indeed, Cuban planters were the last ones in the hemisphere to import African slaves after 1852, and only with the Ten Years' War (1868-1878) did some elite white Cubans begin to think of the island's people of African descent as Cubans (of color). Under the republic, the 1912 massacre and its racist justification were cruel reminders of Cuba's racial divide. They help to explain subsequent Afro-Cuban discrete political strategies

and the permanence of black recreational clubs. In 1912, black activism motivated by race—or rather as mobilization against white racism—had proven its deadly limits.

Pappademos's decentralized focus, principally on the Oriente region, adds complexity to black activism but does not challenge previous "national" studies such as Helg 1995, de la Fuente 2001, and others. No doubt, further regional and microhistories are needed, but they will make sense only within the national framework. The book's treatment of gender is limited to a section on black women in black clubs, leaving aside the majority of working-class Afro-Cuban women and the racist stereotypes that degraded them. More generally, one would have welcomed a thicker examination of the society in which these associations articulated themselves. While Pappademos mentions Afro-Caribbean, Chinese, and U.S. immigrants to Cuba, she is silent on the tens of thousands of Spaniards, mostly young men entering the labor force, who immigrated after 1902 and further marginalized Afro-Cuban men, not without affecting gender relations. Nevertheless, although requiring previous knowledge of Cuban history, *Black Political Activism and the Cuban Republic* illuminates how clientelism mediated social and racial conflict in Cuba—as in many other societies.

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Revolutionary Doctors: How Venezuela and Cuba are Changing the World's Conception of Health Care. Steve Brouwer. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011. 256 pp. (Paper US\$ 18.95)

Discussions of international aid now commonly frame relations between a Global North and South, focusing on the complex of institutions founded in the wake of World War II, or the swarm of nongovernmental organizations that have proliferated around landmarks of poverty such as Haiti. Yet socialism offers another legacy of solidarity and exchange, one that, following an older lexicon, connected the Third World with the Second. Perhaps the most famous example is the Cuban international medical brigades, which in the aftermath of that island's revolution sought to export the cause through healthcare. Following in the footsteps of Che Guevara, they spread across Latin America and Africa to run community clinics and further medical education. They also mounted emergency relief operations, if rarely featured in media accounts of disaster.

In *Revolutionary Doctors* Steve Brouwer takes up this remarkable story, with an eye firmly fixed on its inspirational potential. Cuba, after all, is a relatively small country and not particularly wealthy. Nonetheless the revolutionary regime not only built a new health care system for its own citizens, but also exported that model elsewhere. Its medical training programs have succeeded in lowering the country's physician/patient ratio well below that of the United States and Western Europe, while also welcoming foreign students (p. 56). Whatever else the revolution may or may not have accomplished, it has produced an impressive public health system. Brouwer's entrée into this world of medicine comes through Venezuela, where the government of Hugo Chávez entered into an ambitious alliance with Cuba to offer care to poor populations. This massive effort, involving tens of thousands of Cuban personnel and some 30,000 Venezuelan trainees over the last decade, serves as the centerpiece of his story. Whether or not that effort ultimately produces an enduring system remains to be seen. For Brouwer, however, its very existence constitutes a triumph, offering an alternative vision of solidarity for our collective future.

Three of the book's chapters outline the history of the Cuban system, four describe the Venezuelan venture, and three more address the ideological struggle around this socialist approach to social change. There is also a brief introduction and a conclusion. Brouwer wears his politics on both

sleeves, lavishing the Cubans with praise and denouncing all who would deride them, particularly in the United States. Indeed, the work adopts something of the tone of socialist realism, offering a parade of uplifting anecdotes, positive statistics, and inspirational slogans. Many chapters open with a quotation from Che himself, and those that do not still feature his legacy through the words of others, including Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr, and José Martí. Guevara's 1960 speech "On Revolutionary Medicine" both introduces the book and serves as a motif throughout as well as an allusion for the title. Brouwer misses no opportunity to remind his readers that this story is part of a greater noble struggle for liberation. If initially refreshing in its honesty, the approach soon grows wearying, and ultimately relentless at a rhetorical level. As the procession of virtuous doctors, worthy patients, and impressive achievements march by, one begins to yearn for some trace of internal debate or expression of doubt.

It may not be fair to criticize a book for what it is not, and Brouwer's text makes little claim of academic detachment. His is ultimately a work of heartfelt inspirational journalism, focused more on the conceptual struggle for the future than on unruly details of present or past. The real goal is to imagine "twenty-first-century socialist revolutions" that can free themselves from the failed bureaucratic forms of Soviet and Eastern European models (p. 219). However, the transformation in Cuban economic conditions after the Soviet collapse floats hazily in the background, and the policy shifts toward renewed international involvement remain largely unexamined. The "challenges" facing Venezuela's experiment actually grow clearest through the secondhand description of its ideological opponents. For example, only in the chapter outlining "conflict with the past" does Brouwer present a list of potential shortcomings to Venezuela's signature Barrio Adentro ("inside the neighborhood") program (pp. 166-68). Here one gets a brief glimpse of tensions, disruptions, and changing needs—the stuff of everyday struggles that might have informed a more ethnographic account of politics. By that point in the text I felt sated with speeches and yearned for more detail about the actual practice of medicine in the name of revolution. If the legacy of state socialism teaches anything, it is that the real politics of equality emerges less in formal ideological claims than in the negotiations of everyday life. Including a joke or two might have proved acutely revealing.

The larger story of the Cuban brigades remains obviously rich and relatively little told when it comes to the annals of international aid. As Brouwer notes, between 1961 and 2008, over 185,000 Cuban medical personnel worked in 103 countries (p. 42). Although little reported amid the media fanfare, Cuba sent the largest of all emergency relief teams to Haiti following the 2010 earthquake (pp. 31-32), even while continuing ongoing efforts to foster community health. The Cuban system emphasizes selfless service, rejects the guild logic of professionalism, and values community respect over other kinds of recompense. Its doctors live and work alongside poor populations in the most modest of material conditions. One wonders about the human detail of the commitment that sustains them, the small victories and defeats, the banter beneath the slogans. *Revolutionary Doctors* provides an earnest outline. Hopefully other accounts will offer more in the way of both formal analysis and informal insight.

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Digital Dilemmas: The State, the Individual, and Digital Media in Cuba. Cristina Venegas. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. 229 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Digital Dilemmas dialogues with existing debates in the United States, Latin America, and elsewhere on the significance of digital technologies. Several years ago it was said that in a worldwide digital revolution, new technologies would democratize everything, allowing “ordinary” people to have the tools to compete with the best. In contrast, other critics pointed to the very real possibility that the digital revolution would remain circumscribed to a tiny sphere of wealthy individuals and nations. In an effort to rethink the parameters of the current debate, Cristina Venegas analyzes the impact of new technologies on Cuba’s governance and culture. By presenting Cuba’s digital landscape as overlapping zones of expression and experience, she invites readers to explore a complex structure involving individuals, commerce, and the state. On the other hand, *Digital Dilemmas* goes beyond the discussion of access to new technologies, especially concerning Latin American countries, provoking readers to approach digital technology in terms of the way people use it to sense the world, build creative social experiences, and produce new and exciting infrastructures.

Because Cuba had both capitalist and socialist systems, as noted in the introduction, its digital culture depends more than that of any other developing country on local histories and characteristics and responds to transnational exchanges and relays (p. 5). Venegas suggests that in order to read the ways that technology is used in Cuba, you would first have to understand the specificities of underdevelopment and unsupplied needs. She recaptures the essence of technology in Cuba by recounting a surreal allegory invented by radio host and cofounder of Radio Habana Cuba, Arnaldo Coro, who said, “A country that invented the repatriated chicken can make anything work!” (p. 36). Coro referred to the extended life and purpose given to chicken meals on the national airline during one of Cuba’s most severe economic crises. Chicken that should have been discarded if not consumed during a flight was classified as “repatriated” and allowed to return to Cuba to be distributed among the crew, thus alleviating some of the food scarcity on the island. *Digital Dilemmas* offers a well-documented explanation of how technology can become a “repatriated chicken” retrieved from official routes to serve unofficial and independent necessities.

The book divides into two thematically. The first three chapters describe and analyze the story of Cuba's digital dilemmas since the 1990s against the background of three interrelated historical strands that Venegas explains in detail because they would shape Cuban culture around digital technologies: the Special Period, or the catastrophic economic downturn in the early 1990s that created conditions of special significance for the appropriation and direction of Internet technology; an established "embargo culture" that has long contributed ideas and tensions to Cuba's relation to the United States; and a renewal of socialism intended to generate new social meanings distributed and explored by digital media. This first part of the book also covers the way tourism and social ideology form concrete expressions of the digital sphere arising from Cuba's negotiation of state and private enterprise. These opening chapters explore the tension produced in encounters between people and their governing structures. For Venegas these kinds of tensions create social and political identities that are now mediated by digital tools that should be examined, along with their uses and users.

The second part of the book explores the use of digital technologies in Cuban cinema as well as artistic practices of diasporic communities. Venegas presents a group of contemporary filmmakers characterizing the international generation of media producers who have integrated digital technology and the Internet into their mode of filmmaking. Among these are Miguel Coyula, Humberto Solás, Juan Carlos Cremata Malberti, Pavel Giroud, and Ismael Perdomo. Venegas connects the utopian views of Cuban filmmakers as expressed in two important manifestos by Julio García Espinosa ("For an Imperfect Cinema," 1969) and Humberto Solás ("Manifesto of Poor Cinema," 2003) with the work of Solás and the other filmmakers mentioned, revealing the adaptation of Cuba's media discourse to the digital age. She affirms that "digital tools make it easier for Cuba's 21st-century filmmakers to enact 'imperfection,' as espoused by García Espinosa, as they expand cinematic language beyond established conventions, thus helping to create new relations between films and spectators. They go beyond habitual codes of meaning, and challenge production strategies and industry standards to probe representation, hierarchies of knowledge, and rules of engagement" (p. 141). The relation that she establishes between García Espinosa's "imperfect cinema" and that of the twenty-first-century Cuban filmmakers is provocative, especially if it can be applied to

twenty-first-century Latin American cinema as a whole. Venegas might have analyzed more the exploration of new aesthetics being made possible by the digital formats. It would have been interesting to see in depth how digital technology is also changing the language of film or film form. Considering its possibility not only as a format (i.e. the use of digital video capture) for production but also as a new set of aesthetic practices/possibilities for auteur cinema, as well as for productions being made beyond the official film industry, would in my opinion confirm the participation of digital technology in a larger revolution, offering Cuban artists specific capacities and aesthetic possibilities.

The book ends with a description of what Cubans do with digital media and how they use it. It examines Cubans' use of electronic genres such as home pages, blogs, videos, et cetera. These examples, like others throughout the book, are presented to show how Cubans are increasingly using digital technology to explore their own world and their social and cultural context. The examples also help us understand how Cubans will go beyond whatever bureaucratic or technical barrier confronts them to find their way into global and democratic networks, using digital technology as their best ally.

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Carnival and National Identity in the Poetry of Afrocubanismo. Thomas F. Anderson. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. xvi + 288 pp. (Cloth US\$ 74.95)

In *Carnival and National Identity in the Poetry of Afrocubanismo*, Thomas F. Anderson offers an even reading of what he terms “*afrocubanista* poetry”—poems focusing on African-inspired themes that were written in Cuba in the early decades of the twentieth century. His choice of poems is varied and thoughtful, including some by familiar Cuban writers such as Alejo Carpentier and Nicolás Guillén and others by more obscure writers such as Felix B. Caignet. Anderson acknowledges that he does not linger on the poems’ formal qualities such as meter and rhyme schemes, but instead examines the taut historical and racial interaction among the performers, the politicians, and the bourgeoisie associated with various forms of Cuba’s carnivals.

Historically, the text is bracketed on one end by the 1912 Racist Massacre in which traditional Afro-Cuban *comparsas*, feared as a degenerate hodge-podge of Africanized religion and culture, were suppressed, and on the other with the year 1953, when Marcelino Arozarena wrote “Carnaval de Santiago.” What comes to light is racism toward black Cubans, born of a fear of their combination of religion and culture, that lingered for years after the massacre of 1912. It is a grim bias that ripples through many other Afrocubanista works, and the prejudice touches even prominent members of society such as Fernando Ortiz. Anderson’s translation of a section of Ortiz’s *Los negros brujos* reveals his “condemnation of *brujería*, a term that he used liberally to refer to a wide variety of Afro-Cuban rites, rituals, and cultural manifestations.” He continues: “The first thing, then, in the fight against *brujería* has to be to do away with *brujos*, to isolate them from their faithful . . . Once those frauds are extinct . . . they will be able to . . . go about lightening their as-of-yet deafricanized minds from the weight of their muddled superstitions and ascend the successive zones of culture” (p. 40).

The term “lightening” becomes a trope throughout the book. It refers figuratively here to Ortiz’s equating dark skin with backward beliefs that he understood as cultural contagion, but it also refers literally to the *farolas*, giant paper lanterns carried on poles that sometimes towered up to ten feet high and that are mentioned in a few poems. Ortiz later shifts his views, and (en)lightening becomes an ironic symbol of the contribution to

Cuban culture by Afro-Cubans that the Cuban bourgeoisie often refused to acknowledge even though it became a source of their own entertainment in “white” carnival.

The study is strongest when all elements of art and performance interact, producing a conversation between the poem in its original language, the English translation, the artwork that sometimes accompanies the poems, and the final analysis. In his interpretation of Álvaro de Villa’s poem “La comparsa,” Anderson lingers on de Villa’s evocation of “quintessential images . . . such as the giant *farolas*, the booming drums, and the drunken hordes of dancers” (p. 264). He points out de Villa’s exaltation of “the *comparsa* as nothing less than a divine Cuban institution . . . a ‘Holy Trinity’ of drum, *farola*, and dancing feet—that the exile community has lost forever” (p. 264). In these moments, *Carnival and National Identity*, moving from historical events to literary and cultural interpretation, becomes as inclusive and complex as the performances in the poems it examines. Complicated and loaded terms such as *abakuá* and *juegos* are stringently catalogued and examined, so various meanings for *juegos* ripple forth, including its meaning as a “rite,” “ritual,” “a set” (as in a set of *batá* drums), “dances,” “ceremonies,” and “performances related to the *ñáñigos*” (p. 58). These etymological complications become “afrocubanista poetry” writ small.

It is when the political aspects of Cuban culture interact with its performative elements, however, that the book achieves its full potential. Chapter 5 reveals Cuban politicians’ move to hire political *comparsas* as seen in José Zacarías Tallet’s “Quintín Barahona.” Not without stereotypical faults, “Quintín Barahona” features the eponymous black Cuban who speaks in “highly exaggerated *bozal* speech” (p. 144). The local government recruits Quintín and his cornet to participate in a political *comparsa* during the electoral campaign. The poem’s narrator wonders why Quintín would play his cornet for white politicians who disparage his beliefs and traditions, and finally “posits that [Quintín] must be secretly paying homage to *Obatalá*—one of the most important deities of the Yoruban pantheon who is at once the god of creation” (p. 145). When the narrator eventually points out that Quintín “is nothing but a black Cuban,” Anderson notes the corresponding “relative worthlessness of blacks in Cuban society and the fruitlessness of their involvement with the nation’s major political parties” (p. 153). The final stanza offers Quintín’s ineffectual revenge: he accepts the white politician’s money to play in the *comparsa*, but does not vote. His father’s

death in the 1912 Racist Massacre surely influences his decision. Quintín's cornet performance is not just performance but also a lament; his playing "symbolize[s] the 'hot air,' ... of politicians who ... had made many bold promises that they either could not or would not keep" (p. 155). Quintín's refusal to vote comes from his view that it would effect little change. Such readings, in which Anderson enters the minds of the poems' narrators, are where his interpretations shine. In these moments he successfully plumbs the position of the Afro-Cuban performer and brings into sharp relief the way politicians historically sought to affect all elements of Cuban culture.

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Cuban Artists across the Diaspora: Setting the Tent Against the House. Andrea O'Reilly Herrera. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011. xii + 253 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Cuban Artists across the Diaspora is an impressive chronicle of the development of the extended traveling exhibition "Café," primarily curated by Leandro Soto, a Cuban artist in exile. In studying this visual manifestation of the exploration of identity and place linked through the emblematic substance of café/coffee, Andrea O'Reilly Herrera deploys multiple strategies to help readers understand how the themes of "Café" relate to the fluid circumstances of self-definition and the impact that time, place, history, tradition, personal experience, and expressive desire have on artistic creativity.

The book begins with a brief description of the nature of Cuban coffee, laying out the various ways of preparing and drinking it in order to give readers some familiarity with this almost Eucharistic beverage that serves as the point of unity for all Cubans. The introduction establishes the theoretical framework for O'Reilly Herrera's exploration of "Café," making it clear that her goal is to describe the fluidity of a national experience of identity markers that can become transnational as the associations that defined an identity of place become transformed into definitions of multiple identities affected by movement across places. She employs the existence of the island of Cuba as a locator and metaphor for the explorations of experience shared by those who identify themselves as *Cubanos* inside and outside the physical island. The metaphoric, allegorical title represents O'Reilly Herrera's position that exile can be "insilic" (within the original place) and "exilic" (outside the original place) and that either state of displacement can result in a variety of explorations and redefinitions, all of which are evident in the changing groups of artists who have participated in "Café" over the twelve incarnations of the traveling exhibition (see pp. 211-17).

Chapter 1 provides a brief review of the artistic movements that inspired Leandro Soto and the majority of the participants of "Café," beginning with the 1980s group Volumen Uno, which was meant to be a protest group that critiqued the Cuban government in coded signs embedded in the works of art created by artists trained in Cuba. Here O'Reilly Herrera links some of the artistic production of this group with responses to Soviet Socialist Art. The expression engendered by Volumen Uno continued in other exhibitions, traced by the author and identified as *Puré* ("mashed potatoes")

and Arte Calle ("street art"), both manifestations of the desire of artists to connect with Cuban popular culture to emphasize Cuban identity. In this chapter (which also covers the exhibitions outside Cuba that brought to international attention Cuban-born artists who were exiled as children and adolescents), O'Reilly Herrera maintains parallels between those outside and those inside the island. Her review ends with "Ajiaco: Stirrings of the Cuban Soul," a traveling exhibition curated by Gail Gelburd (2009-2010).

Chapter 2 traces the origins of "Café" to a conversation between Leandro Soto, Yovani Bauta, Israel Leon Viera, and Grisel Pujala (Soto's wife and the director of "Café") which took place in the Yucatan, where they reminisced about Cuba and discussed their work while preparing Cuban-style coffee. As the connections between coffee and art and identity became clear, they decided to organize a series of exhibitions of fluid definition to illustrate the linkage that coffee represents for Cubans everywhere, many of them from very diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, ranging from Afro-Cuban to Jewish—yet all bound by the ambrosial liquid of their childhood perception of what it meant to be Cuban. Chapter 3 discusses how the process of traveling with "Café" replicates the process of movement across time, places, and cultures experienced by the exiled, who reinvent their lives as they emigrate and migrate. Chapter 4 explores how the visual styles and thematic concerns of the artists of "Café" continue or break with previous Cuban artistic traditions, beginning with the Cuban Vanguardia artists of the 1920s and 1930s. This chapter also includes brief biographical sketches of artists who have participated in "Café," identified by O'Reilly Herrera as belonging to Cuban modernist art. Chapter 5 continues the theme of connection established in the previous chapters, but focuses on artists who employ landscape and who respond to Cuban traditions of landscape paintings in their offerings to "Café." Chapter 6 focuses on artists who use architecture to situate their memories of time and space.

O'Reilly Herrera's goal is to remove iconic definitions of exile in order to allow a more organic recognition of the actual state of becoming displaced. In Chapter 7 she identifies those artists whose work is intrinsically linked with displacement and disruption but also with freedom of expression. As this aspect of "Café" is considered, she argues that the self-invention for which movement is a catalyst creates a dynamic flow for the life of the exile that cannot be bound into tight categories of definition. Chapter 8 is where the book's manifold arguments are brought together by a convincing

argument that movement, newness and inventiveness, and adaptation were Cuban tropes throughout the complex history of the island (the House), a history that was always accompanied by exile (the Tent) and its attendant need to establish change while retaining continuity. The epilogue posits that, as with “Café,” being Cuban inside or outside the island is always a work in progress and very much the product of a conscious desire to retain an essential identity as a Cuban—despite the changing circumstances of location, history, and experience.

Cuban Artists across the Diaspora is a major contribution to the study of exile, identity, and the cultural and artistic manifestation of states of being and existence that mark our global consciousness. The social historical, political, anthropological, and theoretical sources cited throughout the book are a valuable repository of current thinking on the issues that the book explores through the trope of café Cubano and through the continuing artistic manifestations of “Café.”

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Buena Vista in the Club: Rap, Reggaetón, and Revolution in Havana. Geoffrey Baker. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011. xii + 410 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.95)

Between the early 1990s and the mid-2000s rap music and hip hop culture surged in popularity in Cuba. Performing groups formed and reformed, recordings circulated on cassette and CD, performance spaces sprang up, and rap festivals and hip hop conferences were held—while Havana hip hoppers drew inspiration from the original, hard-edged sounds of politically conscious rap music that had come out of the Bronx back in the late 1970s and early 1980s. There was a palpable sense of urgency and energy in Havana surrounding this newly embraced genre with its promise of street-level creativity. North American rappers took notice of these developments in Havana, as did international journalists, academics, filmmakers, music producers, and cultural tourists. Harry Belafonte visited Cuba in 1999 and had an all-day conversation with Castro in which he extolled the potential of hip hop as a force for progressive social change. The New York-based Black August Hip Hop Collective reached out to their counterparts in Havana, seeking collaboration and offering ideological solidarity. More than two dozen documentary films about Havana hip hop were made—by filmmakers from outside Cuba—within a ten-year time span! The Cuban government established the Agencia Cubana de Rap as an official organization to promote rap music and to integrate it within the larger national culture. And all of this occurred within the context of the “Special Period” of Cuba’s economic crisis due to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Havana’s hip hop fervor reached its peak around 2000, and then within a few years the importance of hip hop waned, the scene shrunk, a number of key artists left the island, and the far more commercial, danceable, and some would say, shallow style of reggaeton rose to prominence.

This rise-and-fall story of Cuban hip hop is the focus of Geoffrey Baker’s intricate and carefully researched analysis of the cultural politics of Cuban popular music during this period. His work synthesizes a wide range of evidence and sources: song lyrics, CD and cassette recordings, music videos, and personal interviews with rappers, producers, concert promoters, publicists and other cultural workers, as well as writings in ethnomusicology, cultural studies, political science and sociology, magazine and newspaper journalism, documentary movies, and his own fieldwork experiences in

Havana between 2003 and 2010. His central claim is that Cuban hip hop emerged within a subtle and dialectical force-field of local and global pressures and opportunities, and that the intense scrutiny and documentation that it attracted—mostly from foreign, left-leaning sources—quickly influenced the development and direction of the music itself within Cuba. Baker describes “a double process that occurred as outside interventions in the Havana scene invented a noncommercial ethos and, at the same time, undermined it . . . International interventions helped to construct the Havana scene in the late 1990s as a cohesive, black, noncommercial movement, but they also helped to deconstruct it, bringing in temptations of all kinds” (p. 349).

Baker’s title refers of course to Ry Cooder and Wim Wender’s well-known recording and film project, which also took place in Havana at this time and which was aimed at reviving the older styles of Cuban son and rumba for an international audience attuned to “world music.” While the musical styles and the cultural content of their project could hardly be further apart from the 1990s Cuban hip hop explosion, Baker’s point is that the two actually share a common structure of outside involvement in Havana musical life for the purpose of defining what is “authentic” Cuban music, while the local musical trends actually veer off in quite different, unforeseen and “inauthentic” directions. As international audiences basked in the dignity and nostalgia of the elderly Buena Vista *soneros* featured in the Ry Cooder-Wim Wender project, Havana youth back home, under the spell of Public Enemy and Fab 5 Freddy, were free styling to beats and rhythms that had little to do with Afro-Cuban traditions. And then just as the international gaze turned its attention to the gritty and highly discursive sounds of underground Havana rap, assuming that it had uncovered authentic revolutionary music with socialist street credibility, popular music tastes in Havana shifted toward the apolitical, upbeat, dancehall, party sounds of reggaeton. Baker’s study highlights the fact that Cuba, stemming from its almost unique geopolitical status as one of the last instances of what used to be called “actually existing socialism,” serves as a screen on which much of the rest of the world projects various ideological and cultural imaginings that have little connection with what is actually taking place within Cuban society.

Baker brings to this project a thorough appreciation for both the multiple layers of meaning and the complex processes involved in the

transnationalization of rap music. In the course of his explorations he weaves together numerous strands of interpretation, including discussions of the following: the interactions between underground rappers and the Cuban state; the connections and tensions between hip hop culture on the one hand and contemporaneous styles of Latin music such as timba, reggaeton, and salsa on the other; the Latin and Caribbean influences embedded in the origins of New York rap going back to the 1970s; the role of underground rap performances in transforming private into public spaces within Havana's urban geography; the transfer of the verbal component of hip hop to the Cuban context without the accompanying elements of break dancing and turntabling; and the use of rap music within Cuba to generate a critique of the tropes of nostalgia, authenticity, and blackness. *Buena Vista in the Club* is an impressive examination of recent developments in Cuban culture, and it sets a high standard for others to strive for in future scholarship on Caribbean music.

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Caribbean and Atlantic Diaspora Dance: Igniting Citizenship. Yvonne Daniel. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011. xviii + 266 pp. (Paper US\$ 28.00)

Few people who study and write about the dances of the Caribbean go beyond the island they have originally studied. Dance anthropologist and Smith College professor emerita Yvonne Daniel, who did her doctoral fieldwork in Cuba and published *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba* in 1995, but whose immersion in Caribbean forms much precedes that, has decades of experience investigating dance on many Caribbean islands and in Atlantic diaspora areas such as Suriname and Brazil. Her second book, *Dancing Wisdom: Embodied Knowledge in Haitian Vodou, Cuban Yoruba, and Bahian Candomblé*, with valuable comparisons of those danced religions, came out in 2005. *Caribbean and Atlantic Diaspora Dance* is the ambitious fruit of those decades of scholarship, field research, teaching, and dancing.

The book's 195 pages of text, 26 of notes (including intriguing suggestions to compare related texts), and 30 of a wide-ranging bibliography condenses a wealth of material that spans the major islands of the Caribbean, some of the smaller ones, and parts of the African diaspora mainland. This breadth of investigation is not without expected perils. The book is uneven. Clearly Daniel knows the dance and cultures of Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil with more depth than places where she has spent less time. But for the region as a whole, she fulfills the promise of the subtitle, "Igniting Citizenship," with rewarding observations of the ways in which dance can spark a connection with one's country, one's island's dance, or with an interconnected globe in which forms of Caribbean dance offer aficionados everywhere an international alliance with other dancers, a kind of supranational aesthetic and kinesthetic citizenship.

Daniel begins with chapters on notable performers and choreographers and on the history of studies of African diaspora dance, including in the United States and, to some extent, Africa. She then focuses more directly on the Caribbean and Atlantic diaspora, beginning with a discussion of dances that are related to European contredanse, though some, particularly the *bele linó* of Martinique, seem so African in their expression that others may suspect that their basic DNA is African, with some morphology shared with contredanse. Daniel is interested in such questions and her discussion of

bele can promote a stimulating interchange with readers who may have somewhat different ideas of core origins. In fact *bele* does appear as African-derived on some of her many charts.

Neo-African creole drum dances appear as a separate category in the charts, though such dances as the *rumbas* of Cuba, *tambu* of Curaçao, *bomba* of Puerto Rico, or the various *beles* of the southern islands are discussed in scattered chapters rather than in a single one that would permit easier comparisons. There are chapters on popular social dances, carnival dances, and “ferocious dance,” (dance-like martial art forms), as well as an especially rich one on sacred dances (though it excludes most of the funerary dances of the islands).

A central chapter, “Creole Dances in National Rhythms,” limns those dances that are considered to be emblematic of a country’s culture. Here Daniel advances her illuminating discussion of how citizenship can indeed be ignited by dance forms, threading these ideas through the book to further illustrate this and returning in depth to this thesis with new developments in the final chapters, “Tourism, Globalization, and Caribbean Dance” and “Igniting Diaspora Citizenship.”

The book is dedicated to Katherine Dunham, pioneering dance anthropologist in the Caribbean, masterful choreographer whose dance company conquered the world in the 1940s and 1950s, and global citizen, bearing witness to the injustices of the world, whether in the United States, Haiti, or elsewhere. Dunham, progenitor of a valuable dance technique that Daniel taught for decades, was a mentor to Daniel, encouraging her to become a dance anthropologist.

It is unfortunate that this book is marred by what seems like haste in production. There are confusions—why does one of the charts list some of the rhythms of Afro-Puerto Rican *bomba* under the Spanish-derived “Los Seises” dances (p. 30)? Is it because the cuatro-based rhythms of those set dances are called *seises* and so are the drum rhythms of *bomba* (such as the listed *yubá*, *belén*, and *bambulé*)? And why have a list of old drum dances of Puerto Rico such as *guineo* and *zarambeque*, when such hardly known dances are never discussed in the text? Misspellings are frustrating, including Eleo Palmare for choreographer Eleo Pomare (p. 12) or the mystifying Jean-Gui of Haiti (p. 183). Is that Jeanguy Saintus? Some sections need more editing. At the beginning of p. 50, for instance, “the twenty-eight habitable

islands of the Caribbean" (there are far more) is soon followed by a very confusing conflation of the histories of Tobago and Trinidad, in which Trinidad acquires two centuries of French rule rather than Spanish.

Caribbean and Atlantic Diaspora Dance is rare in its sweep over a huge swath of territory. The scholarship involved has been prodigious. Its central ideas about how dance promotes yet transcends pleasure to unite people in spiritual and cultural citizenship are of particular interest. One can hope for a second edition that is carefully edited and fact-checked, for this is an important book, connecting dance with the social, spiritual, and political roles it plays in Caribbean and Diaspora societies.

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Caribbean Literature and the Public Sphere: From the Plantation to the Post-colonial. Raphael Dalleo. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. xv + 296 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.50)

The plantation, the pirate ship, the church, the colonial courthouse, the marketplace, the pages of the literary magazine, the carnival parade, the traffic jam. Dalleo's own examples (p. 2) imply that for him the Caribbean "public sphere" is a zone both real and imagined, one in which writers have sought to locate their aspirations, not only to reach a public but to bring one into existence. Necessarily differently configured from the European bourgeois public sphere described by Jürgen Habermas, it nevertheless claims "to represent the hopes and aspirations of the majority of the populace" (p. 4) unlike the black "counterpublic" identified by Houston Baker in the United States.

Above all, this public sphere—and therefore literature's relationship to it—is always changing. Dalleo's approach is determinedly historical, and his book is organized according to a three-fold periodization which he insists works well across the whole Caribbean. First, abolitionist writing which was addressed to a largely European public at a time when a specifically Caribbean public sphere did not yet exist, although by the 1850s this default location was beginning to show signs of wear. Second, anticolonialist writing in which Caribbean intellectuals (usually through an—uneasy—identification with a romantic male protagonist) aligned themselves with "the people." (On closer inspection, this "people" turn out to be not just "middle class" but a particular segment of that class, one that defines itself as literary rather than professional or technocratic.) And third, after independence, with that professional or technocratic middle class now holding power (often with disappointing, even devastating, results), a "post-colonial" moment in which literary intellectuals seek—with varying degrees of confidence, and not always successfully—to subject this new order to critical scrutiny and imagine more just alternatives, often with a renewed interest in vernacular cultural forms such as oral testimony and popular music, while remaining alert to their increasing commodification.

Dalleo's opening examples notwithstanding, his book—as its title indicates—is largely concerned with literature, in the most conventional use of the word; the nearly twenty texts that are discussed at length are mainly works of literary fiction or autobiography. It is especially gratifying to find

that the coverage is genuinely pan-Caribbean, as Dalleo is equally at home with English-, French-, and Spanish-language material. Historiography, poetry, criticism, and theoretical works are also examined, but other cultural forms are necessarily marginalized by this literary focus. Oral testimony and popular music, for instance, figure only insofar as they are deployed by writers, often to lend authority to their attempts to speak on behalf of “the people.” This emphasis is perhaps to be expected from a professor of English, but what is more surprising is that there is very little here on the economics and politics of publishing and broadcasting in the Caribbean or the way nonacademic readers might have selected, enjoyed, and responded to the texts examined here.

There is a certain ambiguity concealed in the “and” of the title. On the one hand the book is concerned with the relationship between a text and its audience or readership. Its relationship to a “public sphere” might be extrapolated from the assumptions it makes about (or asks of) the implied reader. For example in the discussion of Claude McKay’s *Banana Bottom* and the contributions to Barbadian, Dominican, and Martinican literary magazines of the 1940s, Dalleo insists that these texts articulate (and possibly also help to shape) the outlook of a specifically literary middle class (signified, perhaps, by the kind of publication they might have been likely to read).

On the other hand the “public sphere” also refers to the places that feature as settings in works of literature, for example the pirate ship in Michael Maxwell Philip’s *Emmanuel Appadocca* (1854) or the traffic jam in *La guaracha del Macho Camacho* (1976) by Luis Rafael Sánchez. To read these spaces as figurative displacements of their authors’ conflicted attempts to make sense of, or reimagine, the audience they seek to reach can be very illuminating, but the interpretations are inevitably more hypothetical than those that concern the institutional context in which texts are published.

That the broader historical argument requires a blurring of very different notions of “public sphere” (an actual reading public or literary marketplace on the one hand and a diegetic space in which fictional characters interact on the other) may be a sign of a structural weakness. But the readings of individual texts are supple enough not to be unduly constrained by the three-part structure in which they are placed. No book receives more than ten pages (most of them considerably less), but Dalleo always finds room to tease out the implications of certain turns of phrase or juxtaposition of

sociolects while also outlining the broader arcs of plot and character. The readings are clear, well supported, and often original, and there are many unexpected asides too that shed light on other figures who do not form part of the main narrative. I especially enjoyed the suggestion that C.L.R. James's reading of Melville allegorizes his relationship with Eric Williams (pp. 147-48), for instance, and the teasing reference to Rachel Manley's memoir of her grandfather and its claim that Norman Manley's political project could "only succeed through his literal marriage to the artistic sensibility of his wife . . . Edna" (p. 94). These snippets can only hint at the many fascinating lines of inquiry that this ambitious and provocative study will surely inspire its readers to follow.

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Searching for Mr. Chin: Constructions of Nation and the Chinese in West Indian Literature. Anne-Marie Lee-Loy. Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 2010. (Cloth US\$ 42.00)

In the conclusion to *Searching for Mr. Chin*, Anne-Marie Lee-Loy explains the personal origins of her interest in the subject of the Chinese in West Indian literature. Coming from an Afro-Chinese family in Jamaica, she recalls her childhood curiosity about her father's brother, who had been sent by his father to live in China with his grandparents at the age of five and returned to Jamaica twenty-five years later. Despite his clearly Afro-Chinese features, his Hakka Chinese cultural mannerisms and speech characteristics fascinated her and eventually stimulated her interest in the place of the Chinese in Jamaican (and West Indian) society: "My underlying claim is that the representations of the Chinese found in literary and other texts provide us with a significant position from which to explore the ambiguities, potentialities, and limitations of nation as an imagined construct in the West Indies" (pp. 142-43).

Until recently, the minority Chinese community was barely acknowledged by scholars of Caribbean society. This marginal status, in life as in scholarship, has been shared by all of what British sociologist David Lowenthal (1972) has called the "status gap minorities" (or what others have called "middlemen minorities") in West Indian society: the Portuguese, Chinese, Syrian/Lebanese, and Jews. The Chinese (like the Portuguese) originally came as indentured workers in the mid-nineteenth century, but during the twentieth century the number of free Chinese immigrants was either more than or almost equal to the numbers of early immigrants (Jamaica and Trinidad, respectively). Where they have appeared at all in the creative literature produced by new nationalist writers they have generally been presented as peripheral and fleeting figures, marginal to the central focus. Lee-Loy is the first critic to have unearthed and critiqued the ways in which the Chinese have been portrayed during the colonial and postcolonial periods. She also examines the ways in which the slim literary output of Chinese West Indians themselves has presented the existential experience of being and belonging in these societies.

One difference between the literary portrayals of the Chinese in the West Indies compared with Cuba has to do with the writers' backgrounds—primarily Spanish and Cuban Creole elites in Cuba, and literary artists

emerging from the black nationalist movement in the West Indies. (British and white Creole perceptions of the Chinese community in the West Indies do exist, but they date back to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the form of official colonial reports, travel diaries, missionary documents, and journalistic accounts; their perceptions often make an interesting contrast with the views of their Hispanic counterparts [see Look Lai 2009].) In the twentieth century, British West Indian literature was the direct product of the black anticolonial movement (see, for example, Lamming 1960, James 1963 [Appendix], 1977). This has tended to produce its own logic. Most West Indian literature has been confined to the celebration of the life of the folk, the village dwellers and urban masses whose aspirations have been the central driving force of modern West Indian history. Many of its perspectives have been distilled by members of an anticolonial intelligentsia who originated from these very communities (or, in rare cases, by artists from the other communities who sympathized with their anti-colonial worldview). As a consequence, their perceptions of “the Other” in their midst have generally been framed less in terms of a racist or “Orientalist” condescension from above (see López-Calvo 2008) than from a “victim” perspective of the colonized: “Are these people one of ‘us’ or one of ‘them’?”

That is exactly how Lee-Loy has structured her discussion in this book. After an introduction and a chapter on national identity and literature, she discusses the literary treatment of Chinese under three headings: those works that view them negatively as “outsiders,” those that view them favorably as “insiders,” and those written by West Indian Chinese themselves.

Both the “Chinese as Outsiders” and “Chinese as Insiders” themes can be glimpsed in the works of 1930s writers like Ralph de Boissière and Alfred Mendes, 1950s and 1960s writers like V.S. Naipaul, Samuel Selvon, Michael Anthony, Edgar Mittelholzer, Sylvia Wynter, Ismith Khan, Eric Walrond, and Robert Standish, and more recent postcolonial writers like Patricia Powell, Margaret Cezair-Thompson, Elizabeth Nunez, Paule Marshall, Marion Patrick Jones, Shiva Naipaul, Alicia McKenzie, Earl McKenzie, Noel Woodroffe, and N.D. Williams. In very few of these works is the main character Chinese, but the angles of vision all tend to coincide regardless of the centrality of the character or the orientation of the writer. The “outsider” theme tends to focus on the “power” of the middleman Chinese figure, whether exercised as a predatory economic exploiter (Mendes, McKenzie,

Powell, and others), or as a sexual exploiter of village women (McKenzie, Wynter, Nunez). Aloof and unknowable (Mendes, Standish, Powell), or social misfits (Patrick Jones), with no clear location in the colonial social order (Mittelholzer), living parallel but separate lives from the urban and rural working class, the Chinese characters' class and national loyalties are depicted as antagonistic to the assertion of working class aspirations (de Boissière), especially when they feign attachment to a questionable radical cause (V.S. Naipaul).

Refreshingly, the Chinese as "insiders" theme also exists as a parallel mode of discourse in the literature, whether as a lovable and "assimilated Creole" figure (Selvon), a valued foreigner in a multicultural village setting (Anthony), or a person who cannot hold back the forces of cultural assimilation inherent in West Indian society (Powell, Wynter, Cezair-Thompson). The character is also sometimes present as a victim of the same oppressive history as the majority society. In Selvon's *Turn Again, Tiger* he has undergone the same indenture experience as the Indian. Nunez portrays her Chinese character's attitude toward women as a product of the same debased past that all the others in the society are striving to overcome. Cezair-Thompson's *The True History of Paradise* manages to flawlessly integrate the story of political turbulence in Jamaica in the 1980s with the organic multiculturalism of the island as experienced by all her Chinese (and other ethnic) characters.¹

The Chinese West Indian writers discussed by Lee-Loy are Willie Chen of Trinidad, Meiling Jin and Jan Lowe Shinebourne of Guyana, and Easton Lee and Victor Chang of Jamaica. These writers are not single focused. Lee-Loy points out that Chen seldom addresses the Chinese presence, but concentrates on other figures in the multicultural milieu, since, as he observes, the reality of the Afro- and Indo-majority cannot be escaped. Chang's short stories provide a counter-image of the "privileged space" of the Chinese shop, exploring its interior life as a place of alienation and ethnic withdrawal. On the other hand, Lee and Shinebourne portray the existential space of the shop and the rural estate as a humanizing space where issues of identity

¹ Lee-Loy has omitted two powerful visionary statements of the multicultural potential of West Indian society, one more explicit than the other, which take the whole discussion to a different level: George Lamming's *Of Age and Innocence* and Wilson Harris's *The Whole Armour*.

and belonging are imperceptibly worked out among people of different ethnicities. Both Shinebourne and Jin point to the Chinese experience of indenture and the colonial embrace of all things British as indications of a shared, rather than separate history. Shinebourne sets her novels against the backdrop of Guyana's anti-colonial struggles for self-determination, and discusses the Chinese place in the society as evolving within the context of nation-building and social struggle. Her views are clearly influenced by the racial dynamics of Guyanese society, just as Lee tends to speak largely to the racial dynamics of village Jamaica. Jin, whose stories are more of a personal nature and hardly venture into social commentary, nevertheless talks about "Black against East Indian and we Chiney in between." To the extent that any of these writers look nostalgically to China as a source of inspiration, only Lee's poems seem to show any of this concern, although several of Jin's stories have pure Chinese characters and backgrounds, including the haunting "Song of the Boatwoman" (curiously unmentioned by Lee-Loy). All the others (and Lee himself) are more concerned with the racial realities and potentialities of the Caribbean existential landscape.

How complete is a folkloric view of the Chinese that confines itself largely to the existential realities of the rural and urban small shopkeeper? What is the relation between the Chinese seen in West Indian literature and those described in terms of "status-gap minorities" by sociologist David Lowenthal? What do we make of the Chinese portrayed in an English historian-bureaucrat's 1915 study of the Chinese in British Guiana (Clementi 1915: Chapter 14)? Or of the professional portraits of Trinidad Chinese society in the 1940s presented in the community volume *Chien Chiao—The Chinese in Trinidad* (see Look Lai 2006)? There seems to be a great gap between the folkloric depictions of rural race relations found in West Indian literature and the multidimensional lived experience of the Chinese themselves, a deeper "invisibility" within the stereotypical "invisibility" of this community.

Is this important? It is if we are concerned with how much this particular ethnic experience shares or does not share with other Chinese diasporas. In the case of the West Indian Chinese, it is perhaps still true that only in those rare works of a nonliterary nature can we glimpse some of this inner group complexity. But the output is growing, and the readiness of mature nationalist societies to learn about their many social selves is today greater than it has ever been. Lee-Loy's study represents a worthy attempt to focus on a

dimension of West Indian multicultural social life still, like others, awaiting revelation and evaluation.

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Unsettling the Bildungsroman: Reading Contemporary Ethnic American Women's Fiction. Stella Bolaki. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011. 283 pp. (Cloth US\$ 81.00)

Stella Bolaki gives us in *Unsettling the Bildungsroman* a useful review of the rich corpus of *Bildungsroman* scholarship already existing, invoking Franco Moretti, Iris Marion Young, Bonnie Hoover Braendlin, Martin Japtok, Rosemary Marangoly George, Pin-chia Feng, and many others. In order to situate her own intervention in this field, she goes back to early definitions of the traditional *Bildungsroman*, which saw radical individualism and upward mobility as the most desired end of the *Bildung's* trajectory. Then, drawing on *Bildungsromane* by contemporary ethnic American women writers—her examples include Jamaica Kincaid, Sandra Cisneros, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Audre Lorde—she offers the concept of “bound motion,” aimed at a more complex relationship with the community. Rather than focusing only on novels, Bolaki also brings into her book life-writing and narratives of trauma, illness, and death in order to reinvigorate the debate around *Bildungsroman*. She does not see these narratives as binary opposites of the genre, but as its necessary supplements, which describe their own complementary vision of an “art of living.” By changing the genre's simplistic teleology of a consistent development toward a coherent identity, feminist ethnic fictions show that the greatest potential transformation comes from an ability to look back instead of constantly moving forward.

Here is where the most interesting argument of Bolaki's book resides. She proposes to study the genre of *Bildungsroman* in combination with trauma theory and recent investigations into bad emotions and the paralyzing imperative of happiness. Though I find it surprising and an oversight that Lauren Berlant's work didn't make it more forcefully into Bolaki's engagement with the critiques of happiness, she nevertheless draws on an already impressive catalog of sources. Supporting her insights with Sara Ahmed's work on unhappiness, classic work by Dominick LaCapra and Cathy Caruth on trauma, and David L. Eng's on mourning, Bolaki suggests that the heroines of the ethnic coming-of-age narratives subvert the very idea of *Bildung* not only in the traditional genre but also in the U.S. national narrative.

Bolaki focuses on American fiction because it is in the United States that the mythos of *Bildungsroman* is at its strongest. The narrative of the country

itself is of the “pull yourself by the bootstraps” kind. Values of “exceptionalism, individualism, mobility, freedom, the American Dream, and transcendence” (p. 21) are sold to immigrants as the values of American society. To be a successful immigrant, one has to adapt to this narrative; Bolaki asks what happens when one—especially if one is not a heterosexual man—does not? The opposition between cultural nationalism and assimilation is a simplistic one, and the authors Bolaki selects always gesture toward other possible solutions (p. 89). While not every chapter deals with immigrants, all deal with the problem of assimilation to the overarching narrative of American optimism.

Each chapter of the book centers almost exclusively on select publications of a single writer. Chapter 1, devoted to Jamaica Kincaid, is of greatest interest to readers of Caribbean literature and Caribbean Studies scholars. Titled “Female Traveling in the West/Indies: Trauma and Bound Motion in Jamaica Kincaid’s *At the Bottom of the River* and *Lucy*,” it introduces the notion of “bound motion” that is central to the whole project. The title’s oblique stroke between West and Indies is somewhat confusing since the chapter deals mainly with traveling in the West and in the United States in particular. While mobility is usually seen as empowering in the traditional *Bildungsroman*, here it causes trauma and melancholic remembrance. Kincaid’s *Lucy*, for example, narrates the story of a young woman who travels to the United States to work as a nanny and deals with the happiness imperative once there. Residing among the privileged classes of New York makes it all the more obvious to her that the experiences of slavery and colonialism cannot be simply wished away. The imperative for happiness only aims at erasure of their continuing reverberations and perpetuation of social oppression. No wonder Kincaid herself (quoted in Bolaki p. 24) has described her job as making everyone a bit less happy.

If Chapter 1 tells an immigrant’s story, Chapters 2 and 3 center on the conflict between values of individuality and community in the generations that follow. Bolaki suggests that the unusual use of vignette in *The House on Mango Street*, which offers a variety of perspectives and narrators, affords Sandra Cisneros a way out of the binary between independence and cultural community. This proves more difficult for Maxine Hong Kingston. As Bolaki shows, Kingston’s attempts at translating her transnational experience into a space of belonging have been less successful, at least from the point of view of her national community. Chapter 4 describes a similar

search by the invisible subject of an African-American lesbian, Audre Lorde, who finds the way of belonging within her own traumatized body.

The book relies heavily on quotations and references, rather than depending on a confident voice of its author, which makes reading less fluent and pleasurable than I at least would have desired. However, I found myself noting down those various references for use in my teaching. The erudite bibliography will be helpful to all those teaching immigrant or ethnic American fiction and texts by transnational women writers. Bolaki's insights could also provide a useful corrective to courses on the traditional, optimistic *Bildungsroman*.

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The Passage of Literature: Genealogies of Modernism in Conrad, Rhys, and Pramoedya. Christopher GoGwilt. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. xiv + 336 (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

The Passage of Literature, Christopher GoGwilt's perceptive and persuasive analysis of transnational modernism, is an important contribution to both modernist and postcolonial literary studies. GoGwilt offers a comparative reading of three major, apparently disparate writers, each of whom represents a different strand of modernism: Joseph Conrad (1857-1924), "a representative early figure in the formation of English modernism," Jean Rhys (1890-1979), "whose relation to Creole modernism remains contested," and Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1925-2006), "the most celebrated Indonesian writer whose work sought to recapture a lost history of Indonesian modernism" (p. 3). Earlier "received accounts of canonical modernism" (p. 4), as GoGwilt says, have been widely challenged in the last twenty years. The phrase "genealogies of modernism" in his title sets up a clear counter to the narrow contours of Michael Levenson's 1984 *Genealogy of Modernism*, like GoGwilt's account beginning with Conrad, but then confining itself to the white male Anglo-American trajectory of high modernism. GoGwilt draws on recent work on Caribbean Creole modernism, which, as readers of this journal will know, has already strikingly extended the space, temporality, and linguistic and political coordinates of traditional modernism. Yet GoGwilt not only aims to expand the field of modernism further, he also wants to reread European modernism in terms of the impact on it of other cultures encountered through colonialism and its aftermath. "It is now increasingly plausible," he writes, "to view modernism, once considered a product of Europe and America, as the effect of a wider, transnational phenomenon... literary and artistic modernism properly belongs within a history of decolonization" (p. 4).

"The passage of literature" in GoGwilt's title carries more than one inflection. In the first place, he tells us, he is using the phrase to draw attention to the tradition in nineteenth-century European philology, before it dissolved into the separate spheres of linguistics and literary criticism, of privileging the individual passage of literature as a touchstone of value, or, as he puts it, of "linguistic and literary capital" (p. 4). Much of his own argument is produced by his analysis of similar individual passages, as he works toward finding a way of shaping a "postcolonial philology," which

will have the comparativist aims of traditional philology but will open up its “Eurocentric universalism” to “address the full diversity of linguistic and literary formations of human culture and society” (pp. 219, 223). GoGwilt’s reading of his texts is illuminatingly alert to their complex linguistic formations: Conrad, the Pole, whose second language was French, and who first learned English in the maritime pidgin spoken by the polyglot crews of the ships in which he sailed; Rhys, growing up with Creole English and French patois; Pramoedya, writing in *bahasa Indonesia*, the nationalist language formed in 1928 from the *lingua franca* of the bazaar, a shared medium for the different languages spoken in the Malay Archipelago—the site, as GoGwilt points out, of another form of creolization. Whenever GoGwilt quotes Pramoedya, he gives the Indonesian text as well as the translation; when he quotes Foucault or Bourdieu or Benjamin, as well as the translation he gives the French or German; he never lets the reader forget we live in a heteroglossial world.

The main body of *The Passage of Literature* is divided into three parts, each consisting of two chapters: “English Modernism,” centering on Conrad, reading him first in relation to Pramoedya and then to Rhys; “Creole Modernism,” centering on Rhys, reading her first in relation to Conrad and then to Pramoedya; and thirdly “Indonesian Modernism,” with one chapter linking both Rhys and Conrad to Pramoedya, and one analyzing Pramoedya’s “powerful model for decolonising tradition” (p. 177). The richness of context produced by drawing together these three writers gives new and compelling insights into what GoGwilt calls the “multiple modernisms and modernities” (p. 6) out of which they emerge. In discussing Conrad, he concentrates on his early Malay fiction, with its ironic depiction of both Dutch and English colonialism and the mix of nationalities to be found in the archipelago. Conrad’s first trilogy, he notes, overlaps historically with Pramoedya’s “Buru” tetralogy, the story of the emergence of anticolonialist Indonesian nationalism, written in prison in the 1970s and published in the 1980s. Following Edward Said, GoGwilt reads them “contrapuntally” against each other, again through particular passages, for example through the part opera and its associations play in each, drawing in the traditions of European grand opera, the gamelan-accompanied Javanese *wayang* and, to a lesser extent, East Indies popular opera. Yet, in a characteristic turn, he problematizes Said’s privileging of western counterpoint for his metaphor for postcolonial reading, and suggests that the

counterpoint of the gamelan's polyphony, or that of Cuban popular music as described by Fernando Ortiz, should also shape our understanding of the transcultural currents in these texts.

GoGwilt explores the idea of "creolization" extensively, probing the different ways in which Rhys and Pramodya approach the figure of the "Creole beauty" and its resonances in the cultural and linguistic settings of their respective multiracial and multilingual archipelagos, and he has a particularly fine analysis of the Rochester figure's paranoid fascination with the Creole world. I feel perhaps GoGwilt at times underestimates Rhys's profound alienation from Englishness, and the distance of the white Creole from what "white" implies in the colonial metaphysical understanding of the term, but those are small quibbles. Overall, this is a brilliant, politically telling, and thought-provoking book. GoGwilt's study of these three different writers demonstrates how his "postcolonial philology" offers a new way to read "passages of literature" to illuminate "the gaps between and breaks in . . . overlapping and discrepant linguistic, literary, and cultural formations" (p. 251).

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Aphra Behn and her Female Successors. Margarete Rubik (ed.). Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011. 204 pp. (Paper US\$ 28.65)

Virginia Woolf famously praised Aphra Behn (1640-1689) in *A Room of One's Own* for her skill in “living by her wits” as a writer, declaring that “all women together ought to let flowers fall upon the tomb of Aphra Behn, which is, most scandalously but rather appropriately, in Westminster Abbey, for it was she who earned them the right to speak their minds” (Woolf 1977:61, 63). The title *Aphra Behn and her Female Successors* might suggest a study of Behn’s legacies for women writers, especially as Woolf’s view is (mis)quoted in the foreword. The collection, though, is more broad-ranging, treating Behn’s oeuvre in the contexts of genre and “the writing practices and philosophical theories of her time in general and of her female contemporaries and successors in particular” (p. 12).

Survey is an analytical mode in a good number of the essays. Rebecka Gronstedt surveys the literary criticism embedded in the prologues and epilogues to Behn’s published plays to reposition her “as the first professional female critic” (p. 36). Behn’s ideas about love, beauty, and “magic and irrationalism” (p. 109) are contextualized in relation to contemporary thinking on such topics by Oddvar Holmesland, Antoinette Curtin, and Violetta Trofimova, respectively. Literary historical contextualization of character types in Behn’s oeuvre is conducted by surveying examples in her writing and the work of others in Margarete Rubik’s “Amazons in Aphra Behn’s Plays” and Jorge Figueroa-Dorrego’s “Miranda: Aphra Behn’s Appropriation of the Literary Figure of the Jilt.”

Caribbeanists have taken a particular interest in Behn’s *Oroonoko* (1688), a “text” that “‘composes’ the disparate materials and encounters of the seventeenth-century Atlantic, a project of bricolage that recent critics have begun to consider fundamental to the rise of the novel” (Doyle 2008:99). *Oroonoko* is addressed in three essays in *Aphra Behn and her Female Successors*: “Between Saints’ Lives and Novella: The Drama of *Oroonoko*, or, the Royal Slave (1688)” by Roy Eriksen, “From Aphra Behn to Anna Maria Falconbridge: Views of Eighteenth-Century West Africa” by Barbara Britton Wenner, and “Vocality, Subjectivity and Power in *Oroonoko* and Joan Anim-Addo’s *Imoinda*” by Aspasia Velissariou. Eriksen argues that “studies focused precisely on gender, race, colonialism, politics and biography have dominated” scholarship on *Oroonoko* “to the near exclusion of discussions

of the more technical and generic kind" (p. 121). He examines the generic influence of the mannerist novella, hagiography, parable, "topographical description" (p. 125), and typology on the composition of *Oroonoko*. Wenner's comparative discussion of *Oroonoko* and Falconbridge's *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1794) is thin and not thoroughly enough researched to establish Behn's influence on Falconbridge. A modern edition of the 1802 edition of Falconbridge's text is referenced in Works Cited; the short title of the 1802 edition is given incorrectly in the introduction to the essay.

Velissariou's essay is an invective against Afro-Grenadian Joan Anim-Addo's libretto *Imoinda: Or She Who Will Lose Her Name* (2003), a transposition of *Oroonoko* into a radical black feminist historiography. Velissariou judges the identity politics of Anim-Addo's project to be "facile" (p. 183) and essentialist. Anim-Addo recomposes "the disparate materials and encounters of the seventeenth-century Atlantic" which make up Behn's *Oroonoko*, developing a foundational narrative of Afro-Caribbean women's experience. Enslavement, the Middle Passage, and cross-racial rape, the last staged with intertextual reference to bondswoman Mary Prince's account of her owner Mr D—'s shaming abuse of her, are the originary experiences. The best insights in Rubik's collection are grounded in close knowledge of Behn's literary and cultural contexts and the intertexts of her writing; Velissariou is unfamiliar with Anim-Addo's. The final sequence of *Imoinda* alludes to important concepts in Afro-Caribbean literature and culture ("cross[ing] the river" [Anim-Addo 2008:92, cf., for example, Brathwaite 1968 and Phillips 1993], primary orality), West African culture (honoring of ancestors, the continuity of time), Rastafari (red symbolizing the blood of the martyrs of Caribbean history), and the radical feminism of women of color (the back as a bridge "thrown over a river of tormented history" [Moraga 1983:xv]). Grace Nichols's *i is a long-memored woman* (1990) is also a major reference point. Velissariou recognizes none of the allusions. She draws on a range of Judith Butler's theoretical formulations to sustain her attack on essentialism.

The legacies of Behn for Virginia Woolf are examined by Claudia Heuer in a finely grained essay. Wolfgang Görtzschacher's study of Molly Brown's use of Behn as a character in her novel *Invitation to a Funeral: A Tale of Restoration Intrigue* (1995) is informative, but fairly shallow in its analytical reach.

Aphra Behn and her Female Successors draws on papers presented at the third conference of the professional association Aphra Behn Europe. As with many collections based on conference papers, the quality, scope, and ambitiousness of the contributions are uneven, and some would have benefited from stringent refereeing and editing. An index would have been useful.

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Haiti and Trans-Caribbean Literary Identity / Haiti y la transcaribenidad literaria. Emilio Jorge Rodríguez. Philipsburg, St. Martin: House of Nehisi, 2011. xii + 258 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

Emilio Rodríguez's *Haiti and Trans-Caribbean Literary Identity* is a small book on a big subject. Indeed, since the book is made up of five original essays in Spanish and their (somewhat stilted) English translation, it is only half as long as it appears to be. Furthermore, the essays, of uneven length and critical interest, on Haitian subjects, range from the nineteenth-century novelist Fernand Hibbert to his twentieth-century Marxist counterpart Jacques Stephen Alexis, and Cuban subjects, from Alejo Carpentier to Nicolás Guillén both of whom made memorable visits to Haiti in the 1940s. The geographical reach of these essays can hardly be called "trans-Caribbean" when the real focus appears to be literary contacts between Haiti and the Hispanic Caribbean. There is certainly important work to be done on Haiti's trans-Caribbean impact. After all, Haiti's first novel, *Stella*, was written in Saint Thomas as were Anténor Firmin's last major essays. The Haitian Revolution has also been the source of major literary and theoretical works from Trinidad to Martinique. Rodríguez prefers, however, as much for ideological as for linguistic reasons, to restrict himself to the interaction between Haiti and its Hispanophone neighbors.

Broadly speaking, critics writing on Caribbean literatures tend to fall into two categories—those who approach the region as a discrete, self-contained entity and those who view it as a zone of cultural migrations and global connectedness. A balanced approach would ideally both address the Caribbean's uniqueness in terms of an all-embracing wholeness and recognize it as creolizing space in which writers are engaged in a cross-cultural process that continuously destabilizes notions of inside and outside, authentic and foreign. Rodríguez rejects the nativist model of ontological coherence for a trans-Caribbean approach based on "the expansion of cultures beyond national administrative boundaries" (p. 134), but he wants the emphasis to remain resolutely "intra-regional" with the Caribbean Sea as a matrix which "has to a great extent shaped the flow and interaction between [Caribbean] cultures" (p. 172). In so doing, he can be both an enthusiastic proponent of inter-connectedness and a fierce defender of Caribbean specificity. His particular interest in Haiti echoes Alejo Carpentier's view of Haiti as the epicenter of New World identity. As he declares in his introduction, "today

we can assert that in any attempt to define the cultural geography of the Caribbean and Latin America, the trans-Caribbean links emerging since the Haitian Revolution are one of the pillars that gave rise to our hemispheric specificity" (p. 134).

What he calls his "endless undying passion for Haiti" (p. 129) is tied to two Haitian writers in particular who had close connections to Cuba, René Depestre and Jacques Stephen Alexis. Rodríguez apparently met Depestre during his years of exile in Cuba after he had fled the Duvalier regime. He steers clear of the Depestre who later disavowed Marxism and devoted himself to risqué evocations of female sexuality in the Parisian years. Rodríguez was also "fascinated by the discovery of Jacques Stephen Alexis," whose novel, *L'espace d'un cillement*, with its Cuban protagonists, provokes breathless admiration from the Cuban critic. He pronounces Alexis "a Caribbean man" in whom "the revolutionary and the artist merged" (p. 254). Invariably, the only writers who meet Rodríguez's approval are those in whom the "revolutionary and the artist" merge. Consequently, the founder of the Haitian Communist party, Jacques Roumain, is predictably praiseworthy and much time is spent justifying Roumain's collaboration with the pro-American Lescot regime in Haiti in the 1940s. Whenever ideological issues become too complicated, Rodríguez simply ignores them. For instance, in his discussion of the early Haitian novelist Fernand Hibbert, he mentions the generation of la Ronde at the turn of the century in Haiti only to describe them as artists who "eagerly searched for elements of a national culture" (p. 137). If anything, the writers of *La Ronde*, Etzer Vilaire, Edmond Laforest, and Georges Sylvain, were singlemindedly cosmopolitan and reacted strongly against an uncreatively parochial national literature. Rodríguez's treatment of Hibbert is ultimately patronizing because Hibbert is no Alexis. Hibbert, despite his narrative skills, is deemed a flawed writer because he "does not understand that society is governed by historic laws in constant movement . . . [and] remains stagnated in petty bourgeois liberalism" (p. 147).

Rodríguez is not so much a literary critic as a literary historian. As a critic he not only limits himself to realist fiction but his discussion of various novels is heavily plot-based. At times more commissar than critic, his ultimate approval or disapproval depends on whether the novelist does or does not "understand class struggle" (p. 146). Literature is read literally and literariness gets short shrift. His lengthy essay on Haiti and the Dominican

Republic, "Creole Transgression in Quisqueyan Written/Oral Discourse," is proof of his gifts as a researcher, as are his richly documented pieces on Carpentier and Guillén. His illustration of Carpentier's credentials as a staunch Caribbeanist through his "journalistic writings" and his account of the reaction by the Haitian press of Guillén's visit to Haiti in 1942 both illuminate the prevalent theme of "cultural fraternity" between Cuba and Haiti. The 1940s in Haiti was a time of complicated racial politics and ideological maneuvering and the lecture on race in the Caribbean that Guillén gave at the Ethnology Bureau is an example of failed cultural interaction. Despite Guillén's questioning of racial essentialism, Haitian ideologues heard what they wanted to hear. The Cuban poet received high praise from one of the founding members of Haitian noirisme, Lorimer Denis, who lauded his contribution to "a new doctrine based on racial and continental solidarity" (p. 234). Price-Mars, the director of the School of Ethnography, who was present, did not say a word. In another two decades the regime that traced its origins to Price-Mars's ideas would execute Jacques Stephen Alexis. Trans-Caribbean cultural fraternity pales in the face of the horrors that would be perpetrated by those who were more interested in Guillén's race than what he had to say.

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Jamaican Theatre: Highlights of the Performing Arts in the Twentieth Century. Wycliffe Bennett & Hazel Bennett. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011. 362 pp. (Paper US\$ 60.00)

*Jamaican Theatre*¹ impresses for various reasons. The first is the overall attractiveness of this large format, photo-illustrated text that performs a skillful balancing act between “coffee table” picture book and detailed historical record. The range and appropriateness of the photography, and a layout that integrates it as a parallel narrative to the text, make the book an invaluable documentary record.

A second reason is thematic range: here “theatre” means the performing arts (theater, dance, and music, as the subtitle indicates) but also extends to include festival arts and cultural performance from Jonkonnu to Carifesta and the Jamaican Festival Movement, from Revivalism to Myal and Kumina in dance theater, and from oral folk culture to radio, television, and film production. While a strictly academic or scholarly study could not reach so far, *Jamaican Theatre* maintains the attention of the reader not in terms of in-depth analysis (although that is not lacking), but on the basis of compelling straightforward information and documentation.

A third attractive feature flows from an authorial style that guides the entire work at the same time that it allows for the incorporation of multiple voices: the foreword by Rex Nettleford (who died in 2010); a 1957 essay by Derek Walcott; an exquisite note by Lorna Goodison on the 1976 Carifesta Gran Gala and the style of its director, Wycliffe Bennett; an essay on set design and execution by Michael Lorde; Yvonne Brewster’s history of the Barn Theatre and testimonial on Bennett; Mary Morgan’s outline of the growth of theater and drama on the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies in the 1950s; the history of the Jamaica School of Drama (now part of the Edna Manley College for the Visual and Performing Arts) provided by Honor Ford-Smith and Eugene Williams; Maria Smith’s chapter on Revivalism and dance; testimonials by Marina Maxwell and Jean Lowrie-Chin on the contributions of Wycliffe Bennett; and Cheryl Ryman’s comments on the Frats Quintet, among others. Each new voice adds nuance to the critical texture of the work.

¹ Wycliffe Bennett died in 2009; the book was completed by his wife Hazel Bennett.

The extremely useful appendix, "Profiles and Biodata," includes informative comments on individuals important to the development of the performing arts in Jamaica but many of whose work could not be treated in depth. A representative sampling includes: Jeanne Barnes, Reggie and Sheila Carter, Leonie Forbes, Brian Heap, David Heron, Charles Hyatt, Amina Blackwood Meeks, Barry and Lloyd Reckford, Trevor Rhone, Dennis Scott, and Noel Vaz. Full or partial exclusions are an unfortunate aspect of historical writing, but the appendix fills in some of the gaps and provides the fuller cast of characters.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of *Jamaican Theatre* is the section on the National Dance Theatre Company (founded in 1962 by Rex Nettleford, Eddy Thomas, and others). It recounts the company's development of a Jamaican/Caribbean style that integrates elements from local folk culture and traditions—"kumina, pocomania and gerrehbenta, as well as Zion Revivalist ceremonies and chants, Cuban Santeria, Trinidadian Shango, Haitian Vodun, Spiritual Baptist songs and tunes (Sankeys), and some African dance survivals still performed at wakes and funeral celebrations" (p. 177)—and the techniques of modern and contemporary dance developed by Rudolph von Laban, Martha Graham, Alvin Ailey, and others. Rex Nettleford published his account of this process in *Dance Jamaica* (2010), but the Bennetts provide a perspective that also traces early twentieth-century dance and ballet schools, formative work in the 1940s and 1950s of, among others, Hazel Johnston, ballet teachers Anatole and May Soohih, and perhaps most significantly Ivy Baxter. The book also highlights a number of more recent dance groups—all with persuasively dynamic photographic representation.

The treatment of theater and performance (as distinct from the performing arts) is more diffuse than the sections on dance, music, and festival production. The account could have covered more historical terrain and encompassed writing (published and unpublished plays), performance (acting, directing, design, production, and audience response), physical spaces (theaters or other), and the formation and maintenance of companies, groups, and collectives. Dealing with those elements posed a major challenge for the book's theatrical overview (a 24-page "Act I") and its coverage of the Jamaican stage (a 70-page "Act II").

The Little Theatre Movement and the development from 1941 onward of the uniquely Jamaican Pantomime with its iconic performer-creators such

as (“the people’s poet”) Louise Bennett (Coverley) and legendary comedian Ranny Williams played a central role, linking formal and popular drama, dance, and music and Jamaica’s syncretic Afro-Creole culture in a celebratory form that reaches a broad audience. Parallel early developments in scripted theater such as plays by Una Marston and Roger Mais or E.M. Cupidon’s dramatic adaptations of H.G. de Lisser’s novels are “listed here for the reader’s information, and for his later study as opportunity serves” (p. 13). The authoritative sections on the Barn Theatre, the University of the West Indies, and the Jamaican School of Drama illuminate the development of a “national” theater. However, the most celebrated texts (at least outside of Jamaica) of that theater—such as the plays of Trevor Rhone and Dennis Scott and the productions of *Sistren*—seem to be underplayed. Works by playwrights less well known beyond Jamaica such as Stafford Ashani, Sylvia Wynter, Patrick Brown, Basil Dawkins, Balfour Anderson, David Heron, and Pat Cumper, among others, would also have benefitted from fuller discussions. Thus, for all the merits of the *Jamaican Theatre* as a broad and highly informative report on the performing arts, the sections specifically devoted to the theater leave room for further study and development.

Jamaican Theatre provides an insider’s view that records direct participation in the development of the island’s art and culture over the past sixty years. The Bennetts were right to conceive of Jamaica as a culturally privileged space. They mention the great successes of Usain Bolt, Bob Marley, Louise Bennett Coverley, and Rex Nettleford to make an argument for the creation of a Jamaican style or “brand” that is recognized globally and serves as a source of pride for all Jamaicans. Jamaica’s cultural stature is certainly greater than its limited population and geography would imply. The outsider’s point of view, whether on Jamaican theater and culture or Jamaican society more generally, frequently clashes with the insider’s more detailed and experiential account. Ian Thomson’s controversial *The Dead Yard: Tales of Modern Jamaica* (2009), which depicts the “state of emergency,” weak civil society, and lack of governability in a contemporary Jamaica immersed in violence, drug-trafficking, crime, and government corruption, perhaps best represents that clash. Both views seem necessary. *Jamaican Theatre* does not ignore the “state of emergency,” which is a Caribbean-wide condition, but the Bennetts’ optimism and sense of pride proposes the possibility of a restoration of self-reliance, creativity, and civility through the spaces of art and culture.

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Obeah and Other Powers: The Politics of Caribbean Religion and Healing. Diana Paton & Maarit Forde (eds.). Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2012. xii + 354 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.95)

Obeah and Other Powers could be viewed as the culmination of three centuries or so of Afro-Caribbean scholarship, for it could not (or at least would not) have been written a generation ago. This is due primarily to the evolution that has occurred in Afro-Caribbean scholarship, particularly in regard to religions or spiritual practices that have been referred to variously as African or African-derived.

The earliest reports, of course, were written from a manifestly Euro-centric, and thus culturally absolutist, perspective. Much later, the move toward a Boasian cultural relativism or Durkheimian functionalism notwithstanding, the Caribbean cultures and peoples with their roots in Africa were viewed as too heterogeneous or “impure” to warrant serious anthropological attention. Around the mid-twentieth century increased attention began to be given to “Africanisms,” those atavistic cultural occurrences that could be traced back to their place of origin, usually in sub-Saharan West Africa. In the 1970s and 1980s, due primarily to the work of scholars such as Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, another shift in perspective encouraged Afro-Caribbean scholars to focus, ironically, more on the circum-Caribbean cultural area and less on African origins. Suddenly, *Orisha* in Trinidad, *Candomblé* in Brazil, *Santería* in Cuba, and *Vodoun* in Haiti, for example, were viewed as distinctly New World products, cultural creations that possessed some sort of connection with sub-Saharan Africa of course, but that were nevertheless forged in the fires of the colonial and postcolonial struggles of peoples of African descent. This Caribbean focus continues its evolution in *Obeah and Other Powers* and similar works.

In the introduction, the editors state their three primary themes: the role that state/government/legal hostility has played in shaping Afro-Caribbean religiosity; the role that practitioners themselves played in shaping their religious and spiritual practices; and the importance of looking at Afro-Caribbean religious and spiritual practices and ideology as a composite whole. The primary emphasis of the articles is on circum-Caribbean structures, processes, and events that have shaped religion and spirituality in the Caribbean with little discussion of “Africanisms.”

The “other powers” of the title refers not only to other religious and spiritual practices similar to obeah but also to the powers that, for example, animate spirit possession in *Orisha* or *Vodoun*. A bit more broadly, “other powers” refers to the influence of colonialism, including legal proscriptions against the practice of obeah, *Orisha*, *Santería*, et cetera. Writers, scholars, and artists who have contributed to the current perception of these practices, and the practitioners who continue to shape the nature and form of their religious or spiritual practices are also part of the “other powers.”

Part One, “Powers of Representation,” includes four papers on aspects of music, writing, or art that make some statement about obeah, construed broadly, or some aspect of Caribbean religion. Kenneth Bilby’s “An (Un)natural Mystic in the Air: Images of Obeah in Caribbean Song” discusses the various Caribbean connotations of the term “obeah” and how the term is used in vernacular expressions. Alasdair Pettinger’s “‘Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! hen!’: Making Sense of a Vodou Chant” examines the various ways in which this popular chant has been interpreted and used in Haiti. Alejandra Bronfman’s “On Swelling: Slavery, Social Science, and Medicine in the Nineteenth Century” discusses the nineteenth-century medical texts of Henri Dumont and the role they played in shaping an “anthropology of slavery.” Finally, Katherine Smith’s “Atis Rezistans: Gede and the Art of Vagabondaj” looks at an interesting piece of urban art and how it represents the spirit Gede, Haiti’s “cosmic recycler of life and death.”

Part Two, “Modernity and Tradition in the Making,” looks at the practice and public perception of obeah and obeah-like activities and their influence on the transformation of the cultural ethos of Martinique, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Cuba. John Savage’s “Slave Poison/Slave Medicine: The Persistence of Obeah in Early Nineteenth-Century Martinique” examines the ambiguity and confusion regarding the practice of obeah in Martinique as it was widely used both to heal and to harm. Diana Paton’s “The Trials of Inspector Thomas: Policing and Ethnography in Jamaica” explores the process whereby obeah came to be conceptualized in Jamaica and the role played in this process by “day-to-day enforcement of the law.” In “The Moral Economy of Spiritual Work: Money and Rituals in Trinidad and Tobago,” Maarit Forde argues that the modernizing trends of capitalism have not affected the “economics” of spiritual healing in this two-island nation. Finally, Elizabeth Cooper’s “The Open Secrets of Solares” discusses

the perception of *ñáñiguismo* (“the African-derived popular religion and culture of Havana”) both during and after the Cuban War of Independence.

The three papers in Part Three, “Powers on the Move,” focus on the way African-derived religious and spiritual practices came to be situated where they are as the transformation to modernity occurred. Lara Putnam’s “Rites of Power and Rumors of Race: The Circulation of Supernatural Knowledge in the Greater Caribbean, 1890-1940” discusses the exchange and borrowing of obeah ideology and practices in the Caribbean. Karen Richman’s “The Vodou State and Protestant Nation: Haiti in the Long Twentieth Century” examines the elevation of *vodou* in Haiti as it took its place alongside Catholicism and Protestantism as a legitimate form of worship. Raquel Romberg’s “The Moral Economy of Brujería under the Modern Colony: A Pirated Modernity?” argues that *brujería* (“witchcraft, witch healing”) in Puerto Rico has managed to stay vibrant by appropriating certain aspects of modernization. An afterword, “Other Powers: Tylor’s Principle, Father Williams’s Temptations, and the Power of Banality,” by Stephen Palmié, provides a summary and a conclusion to the work.

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Trance and Modernity in the Southern Caribbean: African and Hindu Popular Religions in Trinidad and Tobago. Keith E. McNeal. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. xv + 388 pp. (Cloth US\$ 74.95)

Scholars of Caribbean religions have been waiting a long time for a complex work on the popular religions of Trinidad and Tobago, one that would address the interrelationships between Indo- and Afro-identifications and practices as well as their salient points of difference. Existing works didn't rise to the challenge in terms of theoretical sophistication.

This book does. It deftly and critically employs key terms in the study of Caribbean religions like transculturation, possession, syncretism, and diaspora, while also changing their uses based on local knowledge. Attentive to genealogies and the power of history in establishing key terms, it is at the same time not afraid to shift their vectors, especially by juxtaposing analytical with contextualized uses in practice. Within this broad problematic, Keith McNeal is especially concerned with "possession," which he indicts as overly loaded by pejorative historical uses. He also argues that it is compromised in its comparative analytic utility by its wildly diverse emic invocations, not least its use in Trinidad and Tobago to describe demonic and malevolent spirit intrusions, compared to the positive valence of "manifestation" (pp. 18-20). The critique is well executed. This is in some ways familiar ground—several decades ago Erika Bourguignon (1973, 1976), among others, proposed "trance" as a more neutral descriptive term, with "possession" serving as one possible theological interpretation of trance—but McNeal's is nevertheless an astute new interrogation.

The book, which juxtaposes Indo-Trinbogian and Afro-Trinbogian traditions, is a model application of responsible and carefully specified comparison. The comparison doesn't merely establish the traditions' structural convergence based on similar histories of subjugation and prosecution on the margins of the colony and then the state, though this is surely part of the story McNeal wants to tell. For he also shows how the religions mutually implicate each other by sharing a general vocabulary, including the very terminologies of trance and possession. Even more important, applying the rubric of "subaltern liberalization" (pp. 253-58), he posits a reason for the *kinds* of similarities that have emerged, a reason that goes beyond the history of this particular nation-state and even that of the Caribbean—namely the emergence of a therapeutic tone and general psychologization

of religion, as religious practices have become entwined with ideologies and logics of self, individualism, autonomy, and private property.

These broad influences are far from overdetermining, however. Through dense ethnographic descriptions, the book shows that there is ample room for the religions to exercise agency within these encompassing macrostructural forces. In this sense, McNeal's reading of Trinbogian religious history in general mirrors and encompasses his descriptions of ecstatic trance itself, presented as instances of individual innovation within circumscribed ritual parameters or, like history itself, "agency within structure." Ecstatic trance does not merely express history. Rather, it is itself a form of historical practice, replete with creative possibilities that appear in the nomenclatures through which spirits are called and experienced: "manifestation," "power," "sides," and, most importantly for this text, "*deep play*," (pp. 33-36). "Deep play" was the phrase Jeremy Bentham (1840:131) applied to "irrational" economic gambles, but the idea was critically, and famously, reformulated by Clifford Geertz (1972) as culturally *meaningful* risk-taking, and this is the path McNeal also follows. McNeal proposes a notion of trance play as a sub-junctive or virtual mode of placing the "self" in a situation of risk, as a form of both subversion and the "subversion of subversion" (p. 31). Here he draws on the work of Margaret Drewal (1992) and, especially, Richard D.E. Burton (1993). Play is key, not least as a bridging term between Afro- and Indo-Trinbogian religious practice. Ecstatic ritual events are understood as having not only therapeutic but also cultural value, as critical, reflexive, playful practice, whether understood as Yoruba *ere* or Hindu *lila* (pp. 33-34).

Writing about "spirit possession" (even if the category is invoked by resisting it) poses an enormous challenge of translation for ethnographers. That watershed phrase is embedded within a long genealogy from biblical texts to the masters of the occidental Enlightenment to the birth of Anthropology, in opposition to which the myth of the rational, autonomous, free, and contract-worthy Western citizen was born. This genealogy, together with the challenge it poses to categories like spirit possession, once recognized, has too rarely been acknowledged and seldom critically explored. To his credit, McNeal makes a serious attempt to grapple with the question of how to describe and write about trance phenomena, and with what terms. For example, his writing of ecstatic trance in relation to "the sacralizing arts of virtualization" (p. 21), achieved through willful self-objectification, and his descriptions of how a given spirit entity is composed as a virtual hybrid of individual stories and the spirit-model, are provocative.

Productive comparison should reveal not only convergences and similarities but also salient differences, and here too the book succeeds. The two religious traditions' interdigitation presses them to assert their differences more stridently, as a form of boundary-work. One effect of this effort against becoming too similar, given the centripetal forces of structural convergence, is the tendency toward a greater racialization of (and through) religious practice. In the racialization of religious practice, putatively "pure" Afro- or Indo-identities are accentuated, valued, and proclaimed as an assertion of long-standing, even essential difference. This generates conflicts, and poses evident political risks, which McNeal describes in rich detail (pp. 265-310). It comes as something of a relief not to be subjected yet again to the notion of subaltern religion as straightforward resistance, or at least not to be subjected to it in an overly simplistic way. McNeal weaves a more complex story, showing how the two traditions have followed intersecting but competing political trajectories. Even more important, he proposes ways in which the two ritual traditions create conditions for contrasting political futures. For example, the practice of Shango/Orisha has become central to the Afro-centric movement, while Shakti Puja has remained a misunderstood minority tradition even *within* Indo-centric politics. This suggests varying valuations of the ritual practice of ecstatic trance within the politics of ethnicity. On this issue, the politics of recognition, which is surely crucial, is not as developed as it could be in this text. That is, we must wonder to what extent ritual ecstasy is activated in Afrocentric mobilizations because that is what Afrocentric religions are "supposed" to include in order to be validated as a legitimate tradition by outsiders, unlike Indo-centric movements. The performative dimensions of possession or trance seem especially relevant to the task of comparing the political effects of ritual events.

This fine comparative ethnography serves both as a close empirical description of what is happening "on the ground" in Trinidad and Tobago and as a productive analytical exercise on contrasting politicizations of religions in relation to political campaigns, law, and institution building.

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Take Me to My Paradise: Tourism and Nationalism in the British Virgin Islands. Colleen Ballerino Cohen. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. xiv + 270 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.95)

Colleen Ballerino Cohen's *Take Me to My Paradise* is a welcome addition to Caribbean Studies and more specifically to scholarly discourse on the intersections between postcolonial Caribbean tourism and national identity. An anthropologist, Cohen shares fascinating field notes that span over twenty years of traveling to the British Virgin Islands. These, in combination with her close reading of local cultural expressions such as popular songs and festivals, allow her to draw a richly textured picture of a small Caribbean society slowly transformed by the political will of its citizenry, tourism, modernization, and globalization.

The first chapter provides a historical background of this small archipelago of islands, beginning with the Tainos through to its current status as a semi-autonomous British colony. The ensuing chapters consider tourism's impact on development (economic, social, and human) and touristic representations of the BVI for the developed world. As in many other Caribbean islands, anxieties about marginalization, displacement, and dispossession have accompanied tourism development driven by foreign capital. Most notably the book explores the tension between tourists' expectation/fantasy that the BVI remain one of "nature's little secrets" and the realities of modernization and development. How BVI citizens see themselves, their culture, and their homeland, and indeed, what qualifies one to be a citizen are all thoughtfully examined, with an emphasis on where these views intersect, diverge, and are otherwise influenced by the business of tourism. Particularly valuable is Cohen's discussion of the changing concept of "belonging" to the BVI. Issues of race, class, and color are considered as well as the tensions that exist in the islands as a consequence of the heavy dependence on immigrant labor to sustain the tourism industry. Cohen writes:

The BVI that is marketed to tourists and the BVI that is constituted as motherland are both imagined spaces, constructed on the basis of idealized images of what we want them to be. The image of the pristine tropical beach that awaits discovery and the image of an island home made up of people of one's own kind both address a desire for something timeless and pure. Moreover, as we have seen in the case of BVI tourist

desire and BVI nationalist desire alike, the idealized object of perfection is often constituted in terms of what it is not. (p. 99)

One of the most interesting chapters of the book discusses the work of a number of BVI artists/activists, whose passionate contributions to the cultural landscape have helped define what it means to be a BVIlander. Chief among them is Quito Rymer, whose lyrics provide the title of the book. Quito is both the owner of a restaurant and bar that is popular with tourists and a musical performer, lyricist, and politician. The chapter explores his dual role as a composer of songs that feed the tourist desire for paradisiacal experience and as a calypsonian whose political songs speak to the aspirations and frustrations of the people of his homeland.

Take Me to My Paradise provides not only Cohen's voice and perspective on the BVI but also the voices of BVIlanders from a variety of walks of life. Her love of the country is clear to anyone who picks up this book. Unfortunately, the exclusive focus for eight chapters on one small Caribbean society makes this work less dynamic than it might have been had Cohen included discussion of other Caribbean societies, even others of similar size.

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The Ramayana Tradition and Socio-Religious Change in Trinidad, 1917-1990. Sherry-Ann Singh. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011. xi + 323 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

There has been a flurry of research and publications on the Indic populations of the Caribbean in the past decade, much of it on Trinidad, which has the most substantial population of East Indians in the region. A significant portion of this new body of literature has focused on issues of ethnicity and identity within the broader context of cultural politics. The volume under review here contributes to the study of Indic identity in the Caribbean, but does so by dealing specifically with the religious and performative contexts in which one specific “text” is enacted, remembered, or simply read within, to, and among Hindu communities residing on the island. In so doing, Sherry-Ann Singh means to move away from religion as a secondary phenomenon in the shaping of *Indian* identity on the island to viewing it as a primary phenomenon in the shaping of Indo-Trinidadian *Hindu* identity. While this is an interesting perspective to take, it says virtually nothing about the minority Indian communities in Trinidad, which are made up of Muslims and, to a lesser extent, Christians. Nonetheless, Singh departs from the all-inclusive model of analysis precisely because it has been done so many times before. She thus focuses on the intimate relationship between one religious community and one religious text.

The text in question is the *Ramayana*, arguably the most famous and popular narrative of Hindus worldwide. The story, which relates the peregrinations of the deity Ram and his wife Sita, has been rendered in virtually every vernacular language spoken in India, making it a distinct subgenre within the larger category of epic (*mahākāvya*). Singh gives the text even more significance in Trinidad, where, she argues, it has become the quintessential religious text for the Hindu population. The reasons for this are many, but it basically hinges on the fact that one specific Hindi version of the text attributed to the author Tulsidas came to take prominence in Trinidad because the majority of the island’s Hindu ancestors originated in what is today Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the core ethnolinguistic region where his version of the text continues to remain most prominent not only in liturgical contexts but also in dance, song, and theatrical forms.

An historian by training, Singh focuses on the period 1917-90, 73 years that began with the end of indenture and ended with the full incorporation of Hindus into the fabric of Trinidadian society. The latter date seems

somewhat arbitrary, since no major event marks that particular year as a milestone. What the period does allow her to do is draw on archival sources both in India and Trinidad as well as on oral history, which is perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the work in question. She argues that the need for an “insider’s” view is one that has not really been explored in the current scholarship on the *Ramayana*; hence, she incorporates 75 interviews, 31 with women and 44 with men, to demonstrate the centrality of this particular holy book in the lives of local Hindus.

Although not evoking them, the argument echoes the worn anthropological debates over *emic* (insider) and *etic* (outsider) categories in cultural analysis. Singh makes her case more cogent, however, by suggesting that because the *Ramayana* is a performed text existing primarily in the oral tradition, there are not enough written documents to understand the dynamics of its function in Trinidad’s history. The interviews thus serve as the essential primary data for her study. This is a tricky proposition for Singh, since she herself is one of the insiders being represented. The divide between subjective and objective, though never fully breach-free, sometimes poses a problem of analysis, since she periodically moves too close to theological apologetics, despite her historical approach. Here is where the thin line between historical inquiry and ethnographic participant observation converge to create some difficult moments that are never completely resolved.

Having stated the obvious methodological problem, one can then point more productively to the innovative theoretical position that Singh takes. Noting in passing that the concepts of “selective creolization” in the Caribbean and “sanskritization” in India have been the two dominant modes of analysis for mapping social change in these two vastly diverse geographical regions, she points out their respective limitations for analyzing Trinidadian Hinduism and its practitioners. She therefore devises a hybrid way of utilizing both concepts simultaneously, which she cleverly labels “selective sanskritization.” The alliterative concept itself can be identified as a creolized theory, since it takes individual concepts crafted in both the Caribbean and India to develop a new form of analysis, combining the two to identify the subtle ways that the *Ramayana* conveys changing historical circumstances while also acting as a barometer for change. This method allows her to appreciate how the oral versions of the text have been shaped by social history but also how the versions of the text have impacted that

very same history. Despite excluding Indo-Trinidadian Muslims and Christians, Singh's study (a revision of her doctoral dissertation) succeeds in positing an insider's perspective on the processes involved in Hindu identity formation.

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From Tin Pan to TASPO: Steelband in Trinidad, 1939-1951. Kim Johnson. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011. viii + 350 pp. (Paper US\$ 50)

The popular music of Trinidad and Tobago, known for its creativity and its multicultural origins, is constantly changing, and numerous scholarly studies have tracked every musical nuance. Less well researched is the origin of the steelband (pan). The culture of Trinidad and Tobago, where pan emerged from inchoate biscuit tin bands, continues to be a laboratory for cultural studies, as Melville Herskovits might have put it. The steelband is one of the most significant great acoustic instruments (and perhaps the last) to be created anywhere in the world. At every turn pan is an intersection for ethnic and class relations and musical synthesis, stretching out over seventy years. Kim Johnson richly describes pan from the time of its creation in Trinidad to its spread around the globe at the close of World War II.

Johnson is perfectly placed to make this old testament of pan studies. The only others to have studied or touched on the period in any depth are Stephen Stuempfle and Ann Lee. Two of six chapters in Stuempfle's groundbreaking study are devoted to the early era and Ann Lee focused on post-War pan. So for all the focus on Trinidadian and Tobagonian music, the roots of steelband have remained legendary and mysterious.

After a long career as a newspaper reporter in his natal Trinidad and Tobago, Johnson switched careers and became a historian; this book is a tightened presentation of his innovative Ph.D. dissertation. With a historian's quest for accuracy and a reporter's skill at interviewing, he made a thorough documentation from newspapers and drew on other contemporary sources to provide a chronology for oral accounts. His was the last study of its type possible, since enough pan creators were still living and their differing memories were still relatively fresh. Research for this work, with his heavy reliance on oral sources, could not be done today.

Johnson's interviews include casual meetings. For example, he asked the calypsonian Lord Kitchener, in a chance encounter in a supermarket, "Do you remember 'Bubulups'?" to which Kitch replied by singing the chorus. ("Bubulups, why you beat the officer? /Bubulups—three months hard labour!" [p. 20]). More significant are Johnson's lengthy in-depth probes that separate truth from fiction in hundreds of steelbandmen's descriptions of decades-old important events.

The book follows the development of pan in its early, creative, and vexing years. Chapter 1 concerns pan roots in the bamboo bamboo (bamboo stamping tubes) and biscuit tin bands (cookie tins, dust bins, metal rod on brake drum, and other makeshift instruments). Chapter 2 covers the years 1939 to 1942, just as outdoor performance was outlawed by the British when World War II heated up and pan was partly confined to pan yards and calypso tents. Chapter 3 deals with the experimentation of the War years. Creative Trinians experimented by adding notes to the biscuit tins so that simple melodies could be played. This moved pan from a mostly rhythmic configuration to an emerging melodic and rhythmic set of instruments. At the close of the European war pan moved back onto the streets just as the new melodic pan emerged.

Chapter 4 takes the story from 1945 to 1949 as pan underwent a formalization process, from a strictly vernacular ensemble to an incipient tuned orchestra with an increasing number of notes per tenor pan. The voice of grassroots young men who championed pan began to push against the middle class and elite masquerade bands for dominance of street carnival. Street clashes between bands became more numerous. Chapter 5 details the development of TASPO, the Trinidad All-Steel Percussion Orchestra (1949-51). Just as steelband clashes became frequent, some middle-class and intellectual Trinidadians thought a national pan band, drawn from members of contentious steelbands and ethnic groups, could help legitimize pan. Children's pan, like TASPO, emerged as a government-backed steelband that represented the colony internationally. The subtitle to Chapter 6 says it all: "Rhythm of Africa, Melody of Europe," as European scales were applied to Afro-Creole metal instruments.

Franz Boas (who was Melville Herskovits's professor) thought that his generation, working from the 1880s through the 1940s, was the last to be able to document cultures that were disappearing in the flash of imperialism and industrialization. He argued for more ethnography and less theory. Maybe he was right. Maybe in this day of IT there is still time to nail down what we can of recent historical developments. For now, data trump theory; document first and understand later. By setting down this history of the origin of pan, Kim Johnson was in the right place at the right time. He was the right person to render the best guess possible of what "really" happened during the creative development of the steelband.

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Funky Nassau: Roots, Routes, and Representation in Bahamian Popular Music. Timothy Rommen. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. ix + 310 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

Before my first trip to Nassau in 1996, I was under the impression, no doubt shared by many, that despite its majority-black population, the Bahamas had no rootsy African culture to speak of. The Bahamas was all about banking and tourism. Two things changed my mind: hearing Cyril "Dry Bread" Ferguson's song "Bahamian Music," and seeing costume pieces from a Junkanoo group called "Roots" displayed in a restaurant on Nassau's Paradise Island. After that, I was hooked. By the end of the next year in Tallahassee, I had participated in the formation of the first Junkanoo group comprised of Bahamian students at an American university. Known today as the "Rhythm Rushers," the group still exists, as does a splinter group located in Orlando, "Junkanoo Near You," led by Nassau native, Florida A&M University graduate, and Rhythm Rushers founder, DeVaughan Woodside. The group's mission is to share the best of Bahamian culture with the residents of central Florida.

Except for the Goombay festival in Miami (and a few performances at the New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival and the Super Bowl), Junkanoo is not well known outside of the Bahamas. People have heard of Carnival in Trinidad but, as Bahamians frequently insist, "Junkanoo is *not* Carnival!" There are scant sources on Bahamian music and culture. In the 1990s, the main authorities on the topic were Clement Bethel and his daughter, Nicolette, plus Gail Saunders's books on Bahamian history and Nina Wood's Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation on Junkanoo music. Now, thanks to Timothy Rommen, an associate professor in the Department of Music at the University of Pennsylvania, an entire book is dedicated to an explication of Bahamian popular music and its historical roots. *Funky Nassau* is the fifteenth book to appear in *Music of the African Diaspora*, a series edited by Guthrie P. Ramsey Jr. and Samuel A. Floyd Jr. and published by the Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College in Chicago.

Junkanoo, while fascinating, is by far not the only example of Bahamian music. Rommen's fourth chapter focuses on Junkanoo, but other chapters analyze rake-n-scrape, goombay, and the musical fusions of individuals and groups such as the Baha Men, Exuma the Obeah man, and Tyrone Fitzgerald, better known as Dr. Offfff. Rommen not only researched primary

sources, such as news accounts from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but extensively interviewed numerous musicians including Ronnie Butler, Chris Justilien, and Fred Ferguson, as well as government officials and culture workers.

The book opens with a discussion of common themes in Bahamian music in general. Chapter 2 explores the rake-n-scrape style of the Family Islands on the periphery, and shows its influence on the center (Nassau). The sounds of Goombay in the colonial era are explicated in Chapter 3, while Chapter 5 focuses on the music of the postcolonial period of independence. The musical environment of Nassau during the last decades is the subject of Chapter 6. An epilogue provides summary thoughts and observations.

Apart from its informative narrative content, the book is filled with valuable tables, figures, and music examples. (A CD of the 24 music examples chosen by Rommen would have made a nice companion to the book.) Its gorgeous cover—courtesy of Ricardo Trico—features a photograph of a Junkanoo beller wearing a beautiful hand-made costume in the colors of the Bahamian flag: white, blue, and yellow. The book also points to a way forward for cultural development in the Bahamas. Besides banking and tourism, what the Bahamas has to offer is its “soul.” And its soul is to be found in its music. Besides the yearly Junkanoo parades on Boxing Day and New Year’s, local venues featuring live groups would appeal to the cultured traveler who is unafraid to venture off Bay Street.

After numerous trips to Nassau, I had wondered why there were no clubs featuring local live groups other than those in tourist areas. Finally finding a club that I was told locals patronized, I discovered at the door that locals were being charged a higher price than tourists in order to discourage them from entering. “Fast Eddie” Dames, a culture worker and government official, then told me about the many difficulties of keeping clubs open for locals; he had tried it himself and failed. Da Tambrin Tree and the Backyard Club, mentioned in Rommen’s epilogue as clubs that, at the time of publication, featured live bands and existed primarily for locals, appear to be struggling. Da Tambrin Tree has already changed management and is now the Dilly Tree.

The bottom line is that the Bahamian government has not adequately promoted or supported its artists, especially from the point of view of the artists themselves. Rommen’s informants suggest that the government

should turn its attention to serving its own citizens by developing venues, sales, and international opportunities for Bahamian musicians, or be prepared to lose them.

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Vodou Songs in Haitian Creole and English. Benjamin Hebblethwaite. Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 2011. xi + 366 pp. (Paper US\$ 39.95)

Chiefly a catalog of traditional songs central to Vodou, the “hereditary religion and philosophy” of Haiti (p. 299), this book lays Haitian Kreyòl lyrics side-by-side with English translations.¹ The six-hundred-plus songs are grouped by collection; collectors include prominent figures known for their ethnographic work between 1920 and 1950, such as Jacques Roumain, Werner Jaegerhuber, Jean Price-Mars, and Harold Courlander, as well as a refugee who immigrated to the United States as a teenager during the mid-1990s. In addition, Hebblethwaite contributed ten song texts collected in 2000. While song lyrics comprise two-thirds of the text, the book also offers a 98-page dictionary of Vodou terms covering individual spirits (the *lwa*), rites, and ritual elements of practice and performance. The first chapter provides a rapid gloss of the “world of Vodou songs,” including descriptions of Bondye (God) and the *lwa*, Vodou priests and priestesses, and sacred spaces and objects. Drawing on lyrical excerpts, Hebblethwaite also attempts to demonstrate how common themes such as syncretism, ethics, and the ancestors are treated in the Haitian song tradition. An appendix offers a systematic explanation of Kreyòl grammar based on syntactical guidelines explicated by Michel DeGraff (2007) and illustrated using Kreyòl phrases drawn from song lyrics reproduced in the book.

Outside of archival holdings, *Vodou Songs* may provide the largest collection of Vodou song texts accessible to English-speaking audiences. Yet several other catalog-like sources should be noted. Among these are Max Beauvoir’s 2008 volume containing Kreyòl lyrics for 1,763 songs and Harold Courlander’s 1960 classic. The latter interweaves rich ethnography with song texts in both Kreyòl and English, and includes musical transcriptions of 186 songs.

Vodou Songs is touted as a “starting point for the study” of Vodou and Haitian Kreyòl (p. 3), although realistically it may be more useful to readers with a strong understanding of Haitian culture, language, and religion. Notwithstanding the interesting read, I have several fundamental reservations

¹ Credit should be given to seven University of Florida graduate and undergraduate students who provided assistance with transcription, translation, research, and general preparation of the document: Chris Ballengee, Joanne Bartley, Vanessa Brissault, Erica Felker-Kantor, Quinn Hansen, Andrew Tarter, and Kat Warwick.

about relying on this book as an introductory source. According to Hebblethwaite, "The primary goal of this volume is to introduce readers of English and Haitian Creole to the language, mythology, philosophy, origins, and culture of Vodou through source songs" (p. 3). This is an ambitious proposition to accomplish in a single tome, and, as an ethnomusicologist, I wonder whether songs texts *in themselves* can provide sufficient background for those unfamiliar with the ways and workings of Haiti. To accomplish the stated goal, contextualizing and annotating each selected song text seems an unavoidable, if daunting, task that is not tackled here. Hebblethwaite further asserts that the bilingual publication of Vodou songs "is crucial for understanding the Vodouist's perspective" (p. 3). Simply publishing lyrics is unlikely to provide a gateway into understanding anyone else's perspective. Arguably, translation and curation must occur beyond the literal translation of words from one language to another.

This reaction may come from my orientation as an ethnographer working in Haiti. Although this book is purportedly ethnographically informed, I found little evidence of field-based ethnography written into the text: the longest section of prose—the first chapter—is built around a literature review enhanced by song lyrics to punctuate standard themes, as noted above. Each remaining chapter is prefaced by at most three pages largely describing the collection from which the examples had come.

Hebblethwaite approaches translation quite literally, and the translations appear to be mostly accurate and consistent. However, I have four primary concerns with regard to using song lyrics to generate rules of grammar. First, meanings often lie at the level of deep subtext. Kreyòl is known for its complex layers, double entendre, and playfulness of expression, so direct translations are not always adequate. Second, many Haitians readily concede that the meaning behind traditional songs, especially those associated with Vodou, is sometimes elusive. Third, the use of language in songs is typically different from ordinary speech patterns in terms of rhythm, meter, and phrasing. Looking for language patterns in lyrics will reveal the most about language patterns in lyrics. Fourth, most of the selected songs were recorded in the mid-1900s. Language is a continually evolving phenomenon. It is therefore unreasonable to expect that generalizations made from these older sources will accurately reflect current language practices.

Other facets of this book prompted additional misgivings over matters of representation. Disconcertingly, chapter titles, such as "Benjamin

Hebblethwaite's Songs," give the impression of attributing song authorship to the collector. Also, certain songs do not exclusively fall within the purview of Vodou and in fact carry broad cultural significance across many sectors of Haitian society. Two such texts caught my attention: "Ti Zwazo" (p. 184) and "Fèy-O" (p. 187, called "Fèy yo"). "Ti Zwazo," for example, is presented as though the teenage immigrant wrote it himself; in reality, it is a favorite traditional song frequently sung to children. Furthermore, prior knowledge is necessary to interpret numerous unexplained comments, such as "The drum wears a white dress and a bonnet" (p. 53). Moreover, for a linguistic-based text, it is strange that Bondye (God) (p. 11) is also spelled Bondje (p. 47). Consistency, with a simple acknowledgement of the alternate spelling, would have been preferable.

Still, I admire Hebblethwaite for the gumption to tackle this enormous project, which is clearly a labor of love. His research is heading in an interesting direction and is sure to evolve further. The book is highly usable for readers who already possess the tools to navigate beyond certain conceptual complexities, including those cited in this review. Personally, I am most excited about the dictionary, which delves into greater detail than most existing glossaries. Despite certain limitations, *Vodou Songs* is a valuable resource that I am pleased to add to my personal collection.

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Belize's Independence and Decolonization in Latin America: Guatemala, Britain, and the UN. Assad Shoman. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. xxii + 250 pp. (Cloth US\$ 85.00)

Coming-of-age stories, a standard in the western literary tradition, are rare in historiography, especially when the protagonist is a country. But this is precisely what Assad Shoman has produced in his most recent book, *Belize's Independence and Decolonization in Latin America*.

His approach follows in the footsteps of country woman Zee Edgell, whose coming-of-age novel *Beka Lamb*, an acclaimed classic about a young girl struggling toward adulthood, is set against the backdrop of British Honduras's efforts to become an independent Belize. In similar fashion, Shoman guides us through a powerful historical narrative of Belize's quest to throw off the yoke of British colonialism and determine its own destiny. We bear witness to a tiny country's triumph over adversity and follow its journey toward political maturity. As Shoman explains, one reason for writing the book is that:

I thought it was worthwhile to tell the story of how and why Belize succeeded where others failed: how it was possible for a tiny country to defy both the UK, and the United States, who tried for years to convince Belize's leaders to cede land to Guatemala and allow that country to have a decisive say in its economic development, its foreign relations, and, incredibly, its defense. (p. xvi)

What also makes this a compelling narrative is Shoman's own involvement as a key observer and principal player in the events.

We gain significant insight into the struggles that Belize encountered at multiple levels—at home where political party rivalries sometimes throw a monkey wrench into the negotiating process; at the intergovernmental level as Belize negotiates the decolonization process with its British colonizer, which simply wishes it to be done with minimal costs and no military involvement; at the regional level as the only English-speaking country in Central America attempting to mobilize support from its Spanish-speaking neighbors against Guatemala's desire to claim a portion of Belize's land and control its diplomatic, economic, and security future; and finally at the international level via the United Nations, whose policies and Resolution 1514 offer Belize the hope that it can achieve independence without

concessions to Guatemala's claims, and notwithstanding Britain's unyielding refusal to offer military support once Belize is on its own.

The Belize government harbored no illusions about the likelihood of ever reaching a settlement with Guatemala, and was determined to achieve independence without a settlement, but with a British military guarantee. [George] Price fixed that in his mind early on, and had to adjust his practice in the light of Britain's firm refusal to even countenance that possibility. (p. 75)

The "backstory" to Belize's quest for freedom spans almost two decades and is fraught with manipulation by Guatemala to exact a large pound of "territorial" flesh, as well as political, economic, and defense concessions, for what it considers to be a righteous claim dating back to the 1859 treaty with Britain. Shoman discloses the "triangular negotiations" between Britain, Guatemala, and a Belize delegation comprised of representatives from both political sides (including Shoman). He also reveals the nefarious discussions about Belize's destiny, to which it was not a party, between Britain and Guatemala—with an occasional involvement by the United States. The cold-war setting and the United States's preoccupation with, and paranoia regarding, communism only added more complexity to Belize's plight. Shoman dubbed the United States "the reluctant broker" (p. 46) because "when the Belize issue appeared on the radar of U.S. policy analysts in the 1960s, their vision of the region was heavily tinged by the effects of the Cuban revolution and the debacle of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion" (p. 47).

He makes clear that the United States engaged in a delicate balancing act of support and alliances. On the one hand, Shoman argues that "it was clear that Washington fully supported the Guatemalan dictatorships as a bulwark against any communist influence" (p. 47). But the United States also had to consider the "special relationship" with the United Kingdom, which made it "reluctant to take positions completely at variance" with the United Kingdom (p. 47). For almost a decade, the United States is caught in a political conundrum. It takes a new presidential administration to establish a positive shift in its support for Belize's right to self-determination. Shoman notes that it was "only with the advent of the James Carter administration (1977-1981) that a new way of engaging the world suggested an enhanced and more positive role for the United States in the dispute" (p. 48).

Shoman crafts a succinct but detailed narrative of triumph and offers readers an insightful analysis of how a tiny country, hell-bent on achieving self-determination intact, leveraged international support to beat the giant of colonialism and ward off the stranglehold of a militaristic Guatemala. The lesson he leaves us with is that "Belize's decolonization by internationalization is a case study that demonstrates that in a particular international conjuncture, one set of variables may count more than another; here, power politics gave way to the . . . power of ideas and the efficacy of international organizations" (p. 198).

But the tale is not finished. Belize is all grown up and has been independent since 1981, yet it still struggles to find diplomatic solutions to a strained relationship with Guatemala. Also, as Guatemalans flee the violent political and militaristic environment of their country to the democratic refuge of Belize, the boundaries between the two countries become even murkier.

On September 21, 2012, Belize will celebrated 31 years of freedom. Shoman's book is a wonderful birthday gift to the annals of the country's historical record.

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George Price: A Life Revealed. The Authorized Biography. Godfrey P. Smith. Kingston: Ian Randle, 2011. xii + 323 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

The first full-length biography of the late George Price is an engaging and readable book by a Belizean lawyer and former government minister who knew him well. With access to private papers as well as public records, and making use of interviews with Price, Godfrey Smith provides much detail that was previously unknown.

The outlines of Price's life are clear, from his birth in 1919 to his death in 2011, just before Smith's biography went to press. Educated by Jesuits in Belize City, Price spent four years in a seminary in Mississippi, graduating in 1940. He then spent a year studying and traveling in Guatemala. In the summer of 1942 he began a thirteen-year period as the personal secretary of Robert Turton, a Belizean millionaire who had extensive business connections with the United States and was an elected member of the Legislative Council from 1936. Turton persuaded Price to run in the Belize city council elections in 1944. He lost, but then won in 1947 and until 1984 he won every election he contested. One of the founders of the People's United Party (PUP) in 1950, Price soon became its leader. The PUP won the city council elections in 1950, the first general election under universal adult suffrage in 1954, and every subsequent national election until 1984.

Constitutional decolonization followed a pattern in Belize that was similar to other British colonies, and Price became first minister in a system of internal self-government in 1964. Independence was delayed because of irredentist claims by Guatemala, however, and it was only after a prolonged international campaign that independence was achieved in 1981 (Shoman 2010). Price led his country through independence and again after the PUP regained power in 1989. When a snap election in 1993 resulted in the PUP's defeat, Price's dominance declined and he resigned as party leader in 1996. He won his last election campaign in 1998, and announced in 2000 that he would not contest the election in 2003. The undisputed "founding father" of Belize, Price was one of the most durable and experienced of Caribbean politicians. His austere, hard-working lifestyle was unchanged throughout his life and his integrity is legendary.

This biography reveals much of Price's life, but much else remains obscure. He was an intensely private man and seems to have been reticent to the last. We learn little of the inner life of the man, or of what shaped

his values and priorities. Smith refers to Price's family and education, and his traumatic experience in the 1931 hurricane, but reveals only an outline of the influences on his philosophy and politics, which included his Jesuit background and the papal encyclicals, as well as his political "apprenticeship" with Turton. Price, a light-skinned, middle-class creole-mestizo from multiracial Belize, lived in segregated Mississippi, where he was defined with all the other students as "black," while all the priests were "white." We are told that this experience "didn't make any difference to him" (p. 36), but it is hard to believe that it did not develop his sense of social justice. Little is said about his relations with early labor leaders, such as Antonio Soberanis, Henry Middleton, and Clifford Betson, although these were major figures in the 1940s and the PUP initially relied on the organization of the General Workers' Union.

Until the Guatemalan government was overthrown in a CIA-backed coup in 1954, the option of support and closer relations with Central America made more sense to Price than being forced into a West Indian federation with more distant Caribbean islands. Like many other nationalist leaders, Price was characterized in the United Kingdom as a radical troublemaker and even, absurdly, as a communist, but Smith does not adequately explore the Cold War context. In 1957, soon after the PUP swept the national elections, Price was condemned by the British for talking with the Guatemalan minister during constitutional negotiations in London. As Smith says, "The British had excoriated Price for listening to a proposal from the Guatemalans for some form of association with Guatemala, an option they had been actively considering themselves" (p. 140). By 1964, however, Price had become "respectable" enough to the British to be accepted as first minister.

Price's politics and the history of his struggle against colonialism need to be understood not only in relation to Guatemala, but also in the context of the other British Caribbean colonies. Smith does not compare Price to other leaders among his peers in this book (though he compares him to Michael Manley, Forbes Burnham, Eric Williams, and Errol Barrow in a 2012 seminar paper) or examine Belize's history of decolonization in relation to that of other British colonies. It was in the 1950s that Norman Manley purged his party of its left wing in Jamaica and Britain overthrew the elected government of British Guiana, led by Cheddi Jagan. Price appears to have had little

contact with these other nationalist leaders, whose orientation was more “West Indian” than his, but their struggles were nevertheless related.

Despite some gaps and missed opportunities, this is a useful biography of an important and under-estimated Caribbean politician, so it should be welcomed and widely read.

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Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization. Anne Spry Rush. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. vi + 274 pp. (Cloth US\$ 99.00)

Bonds of Empire argues that middle-class West Indians “of color” defined themselves through a particular expression of Britishness. Equating Britishness with “respectability,” they saw it as a vestibule of sexual morality, justice, and fairness, which even experiences of racism, in the Caribbean or in Britain, failed to dislodge. “Respectability,” so defined, served also to differentiate them from working-class West Indians less exposed to, and likely to embrace, “Britishness.”

Anne Spry Rush takes three British institutions—education, the monarchy, and the BBC—and examines how these played out in the Caribbean over the twentieth century. Secondary education, modeled on the British public school in curriculum and organization, administered by expatriot Englishmen, and assessed through English qualifying exams, was the route to social mobility. Although it offered a poor understanding of the history, culture, and needs of the Caribbean, attempts to inject practical relevance into the curriculum were resisted by the middle classes and, particularly, those who aspired to them.

As for the monarchy, Spry Rush argues, the historic (if inaccurate) connections between Queen Victoria and slave emancipation perpetuated a myth that the monarch was their protector, in contrast to local governments which were perceived, and often behaved, as reactionary impediments to progress. The abdication of Edward VIII did little to dent this image, while the coronation of Elizabeth II, and the subsequent royal tour, was regarded as heralding a return to the vitality of the first Elizabethan age and to the stability and morality of Victorian times. West Indians rallied to the aid of the mother country in both world wars which, despite blatant discrimination by the armed services (and the mutiny at Taranto), endorsed the pride many West Indians had in, and for, Britain, Britishness, and the monarchy.

World War II brought the BBC into its own. More (middle-class) West Indians had radios and the British government, anxious to keep West Indians on its side and to counter Axis propaganda (and American media influence), established dedicated Caribbean broadcasting. Of all the programs beamed to the Caribbean, *Caribbean Voices* proved the most

popular and successful, endorsing the burgeoning oeuvre of Caribbean literature. Despite this, however, the BBC's mission to "uplift" appealed primarily to a middle-class audience and lost ground, in the postwar period, to local, commercial, and often Americanized media.

This is a fair argument, solidly made—up to a point. Many in the middle classes considered "Britishness" with ambivalence and began to forge a legitimate alternative to what Spry Rush implies was an almost uncritical adoption of British, middle-class "respectability." This ambivalence is at the heart of the matter. "Ontology," the Martinican Frantz Fanon wrote, "does not permit us to understand the being of the black man. For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man" (Fanon 1970:77). This theme recurs again and again in poetry, literature, and history, from Jean Price-Mars to Aimé Césaire, George Lamming to Kamau Brathwaite, W.E.B. DuBois to Richard Wright, C.L.R. James to Elsa Goveia, criss-crossing the old imperial and linguistic borders within the Caribbean and North America. New World Africans may have spoken the master's language, but they lived in a bifurcated world—double consciousness, frog perspectives, disassociation, the terms vary but the sentiment is similar. For blacks, as Lamming argued (1956), subjective life was predicated on internalizing the destructive gaze of the Other. The concerns led to, and fueled, demands for self-determination, for psychological and political freedoms, and a consistent and conscious flowering of literature and the arts to accompany it, across the region.

These were not a surly minority of malcontents, but an articulate cohort of activists, drawn from the same middle classes that Spry Rush depicts. By the 1930s, a raft of magazines promoted an alternative cultural *and* political vision for the Caribbean, with a united *regional* focus. They continued throughout the 1940s, with *Focus* and *Kyk-over-al* and, above all, *Bim*. Spry Rush refers to the role of Cedric and Gladys Lindo in feeding material from the Caribbean through to the BBC, and fleetingly to Frank Collymore, the editor of *Bim*. But she fails to register that this material did not appear in a vacuum but was the product of a concerted effort by middle-class West Indian nationalists to promote and inspire West Indian culture and to develop its own vernacular. That it was then relayed back through the BBC endorsed its value, as Spry Rush points out, but without conveying the hinterland, and the intellectual and political ambiguity of the relationship with Britishness, her point loses its impact.

There are other quarrels with this book. Her picture is curiously apolitical. Yet the Empire cannot be seen in terms other than political. There are cursory nods to Caribbean nationalism, but decolonization merits only a paragraph or two. The riots of the 1930s—sanitized as “protests”—are barely mentioned, and their impact on the intellectual elite is given short shrift. The pressure exerted by the United States on the British government before, during, and after the Second World War is not mentioned. There are strange omissions—why, for instance, is the British Council not discussed as a separate case study?—and confusing terminologies.

Spry Rush focuses on a small pro-British elite who endorsed a particular register of Britishness as a mark of their own acceptability, and she traces their loyalties on this, and the adjustments they made over time. Her examples are well trodden, but no less valid for that. It is a shame that the book's focus is limited, for Spry Rush writes well, and her scholarship is sound.

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Race, Class, Politics and the Struggle for Empowerment in Barbados, 1914-1937. David V.C. Browne. Kingston: Ian Randle 2012. xxv + 185 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

David Browne's mission to analyze the historical fundamentals of race relations in Barbados in order to clarify issues in contemporary Barbadian race relations is mostly successful. Finding the historiography lacking in analysis and Eurocentric in its sources and historical methodology, he introduces his own radical interpretation of the background to the events of 1937.

The book begins by analyzing the impact of World War I on Barbados and ends with the 1937 labor upheaval. The labor rebellion (one of several throughout the contemporary British West Indies) resulted from the confrontation between the black Barbadian working class and the white Barbadian merchant-planter elite whose racial attitudes and practices increasingly frustrated the Barbadian working class.

Browne dismisses the myth that benign white planters brought positive sociopolitical change to Barbados. On the contrary, he argues that the sugar plantocracy was racist and that it controlled the legal, administrative, and electoral apparatus of the country in order to keep the black working class in subordination to planter-merchant capital, and to discourage and crush all protest. Planters were indifferent to nagging social problems, including residential discrimination, poor housing, long working hours, urban slums, disease, and rising infant mortality. The struggle between planters and workers was based not only on class but also on race because the oligarchy was firm in its belief that blacks constituted an inferior race. As whites and blacks went to fight for the British Empire, white Barbadians objected to membership in the same regiment as humble black Barbadians. The Vestries were also intractably parsimonious in expenditure for welfare and health. Protests, acts of violence, and systematic potato-field raids perpetrated by alienated black Barbadians reinforced the racial stereotypes and hardened the attitudes of the oligarchy that opted for police repression, harsh legislation, recommendations for emigration, and moral reform of "lazy" blacks.

Browne's analysis of the impact of World War I on Barbados closely parallels that for other Caribbean territories such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and St. Lucia. In Barbados, the war aroused anticolonial sentiment because

black veterans received neither material rewards nor social acceptance for their military service. The race and class divide remained as sharp as it had been before the war. Thus, "the indignity suffered by war veterans was channeled into political protests on their return to the West Indies" (p. 41). The white elite, who had used war-time prosperity to clear their debts and consolidate the plantation economy, continued to ignore worsening social conditions. A bad situation was aggravated by falling sugar prices in the 1920s and by drought conditions.

The confrontation of 1937 was not, with a handful of exceptions, a product of middle-class agitation either. The Barbadian middle class, whom Browne equates with Weber's status groups, had an agenda for constitutional reform comparable to those of Trinidad and Jamaica. It was, however, politically divided between a moderate to radical corps (led by Dr. Duncan O'Neal's WMA, Fabian socialists, and the UNIA) and a conservative sector that Browne condemns as lethargic, opportunistic, and paralyzed by the nonconfrontational English value system. The conservative sector was unsympathetic and sometimes hostile to the rioters of 1937. Browne's radical interpretation approves the orientation of the more progressive elements of the middle class. He credits the efforts of Duncan O'Neal and the leaders of Marcus Garvey's UNIA for politicizing, energizing, and raising black consciousness among the working class. O'Neal's entry into the House of Assembly introduced a spokesman for the workers. However significant the middle-class contribution may have been after 1937, it was limited in scope prior to 1937. The middle class was the political beneficiary of the struggles of the black working class.

Political, economic, and social change prior to 1937 was not, therefore, the achievement of the plantocrats or of the middle class. Change came through subaltern action in 1937. Adopting a "bottom-up" approach to Barbadian history, Browne argues quite convincingly that it was the direct action taken by Barbadian workers that forced a new era in Barbados's history.

Racial and class consciousness and Pan-Africanism (fed by the UNIA, the WMA, and the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935) joined social and economic desperation to produce a significant upheaval in 1937. An incipient workers' press led by *The Barbados Herald* and *The Barbados Observer*, petitions to the governor and the Colonial Office, and social and cultural clubs, as well as mass political meetings and public demonstrations, were

the fruit of increasing worker mobilization before the 1937 flashpoint. Even the lull in working-class political activity that followed O'Neal's death in 1936 ended with Clement Payne's arrival in Barbados in 1937. Payne's ready grasp of institutional racism in Barbados spread his influence rapidly within the aroused working class. Browne argues that Payne's subsequent deportation, intended to stall unrest, had the opposite effect. It triggered the outbreak of July 1937.

I found Browne's treatment of the crisis of overproduction in the world economy after World War I, the Great Depression, and the impact of crisis on the Barbadian planter class underdeveloped. And a discussion of the tendency for ideological divisions to exist in the middle class would have been helpful. But the book is an important, well-written, and well organized analysis of the background to the 1937 upheaval. It offers a useful point of comparison with other Caribbean territories and successfully relates the experiences of "ordinary" people to the political superstructure. It should be of interest to all students of Caribbean history and political change.

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Decolonization in St. Lucia: Politics and Global Neoliberalism, 1945-2010. Tennyson S.D. Joseph. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2011. ix + 231 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

The first book to focus on St. Lucia's postwar politics, *Decolonization in St. Lucia* hints at critical elements of Tennyson Joseph's argument from the cover photograph. The iconic picture of St. Lucia's Pitons, a distinguishing feature commonly deployed metonymically and figuring especially in the marketing of the island, shows an idyllic village nestled beneath the Pitons and the Soufrière Estate Diamond range. But this tranquil scene, with its notable absence of human life, also hints at the book's argument that St. Lucia's postwar politics manifested a missed opportunity at decolonization of the "radical" variety that is a condition for the exercise of a genuine or unlimited sovereignty. In other words, the Pitons depict the way the island "sells" itself, producing a default landscape that reflects the passiveness of its politics of decolonization.

Through eight chapters, chronologically organized, Joseph demonstrates that the leaders of the early nationalist thrust compromised their chances to develop a truly autonomous state that would advance the anticolonial struggle. It was these early missteps that would cast a long shadow over the island's future, forever tainting its politics and setting up conditions for a weakening of the will to pursue a program of decolonization and strong sovereignty.

St. Lucia's early legislators, Joseph argues, were concerned that a ministerial system would erode the hold that the dominant elite and the powerful sugar planters had over the island's affairs. In spite of the radicalism of the St. Lucian working class, expressed in its desire for a more interventionist state, legislators stalled the decolonizing movement, masking their conservatism behind the idea of economic development as the ultimate and necessary condition for the production of wealth on the island. This strategy, Joseph contends, green-lighted what amounts to a toothless sovereignty.

Much of the book's attention is focused on the way in which this "limited sovereignty" manifested itself through a close scrutiny of the machinations of John Compton and his United Workers' Party (UWP). Compton became the island's first prime minister in 1979 and served as a parliamentarian for more than fifty years, including thirty as St. Lucia's chief/prime minister. For

Joseph, Compton's definition of government as an "umpire," as opposed to being a "participant," underscored a project whereby St. Lucia would serve the interests of global capital rather than setting and carrying out its own sovereign agenda. As a result, the anticolonial stance was blunted, and the shackles of colonialism were securely fastened to the politics of state building on the island. The island's legislators, according to Joseph, thus played into the hands of Britain, which was eager to "reap economic benefits from a dying colonialism" (p. 33).

With the rise in 1982 of a more radical nationalist group under the auspices of the St. Lucia Labour Party (the SLP), Joseph argues that the way was opened for a substantive decolonizing path, given the radical nationalism of its leaders, particularly George Odum and Peter Josie. But overtaken by structural adjustment policies and the rise of neoliberalism, the party was hamstrung by some of the previous government's procapitalist policies and wracked by internecine leadership struggles. These factors led to the implosion of the SLP, cutting short the possibilities for a stronger development of sovereignty. With the UWP once again at the helm, St. Lucia sank even further into the ambit of neoliberalism over the next fifteen years. Perhaps nothing was more indicative of this development than the restructuring of the island's [economic] mainstay, the banana industry. Into the 1990s banana production had been organized under a parastatal body, the St. Lucia Banana Growers' Association (whose directors were hand-picked by the government). However, the free trade regime, encouraged by general grower dissatisfaction with the association, encouraged the proliferation of private companies, all vying for small farmer support.

Now operating in a world of "free" competition as a result of the World Trade Organization's ruling that prohibited the continuation of preferential access to British markets, tens of thousands of farmers found it unviable to continue producing bananas and shifted to other sectors of the economy. In fact, Joseph concludes that the "new" (labour) SLP which came into office in 1997 under Kenny Anthony's leadership facilitated this privatization of the banana industry. Mimicking the style and rhetoric of Tony Blair's New Labour in the United Kingdom, the new party projected its strength as an able manager under the mantra of "good governance" (incidentally coincident with the post-Washington consensus). Joseph argues that in spite of the electorate's resistance to neoliberal globalization, the SLP government rationalized its implementation of divestment policies and pursued poverty reduction programs, thereby acquiescing to neoliberal mandates.

Joseph's attempt here to fill in the gaps on the politics of small states is highly commendable, but his insistence on interpreting the political developments in St. Lucia in terms of "limited sovereignty," "weak nationalism," and flawed decolonizing strategies or tactics suggests that somewhere he has in mind Caribbean and other states that have unlimited sovereignty and strong nationalisms. Yet nowhere in the text does he provide examples of these. Indeed, I would argue that the idea of sovereignty—here defined in terms of absolute autonomy—misses the mark widely. What the text lacks is a broader interpretation of the idea of sovereignty itself, one that goes beyond formal *de jure* property to one that focuses on states in relation to nations (Hansen & Stepputat 2005:2). Considering sovereignty within this wider context, including the ways in which it is exercised within states in relation to subject/citizens, makes for a more productive engagement. This is particularly necessary since it cannot be expected that tiny states such as St. Lucia could (or can) exercise any significant influence on other states. Many of the examples cited within the text—the Taiwan/China debacle, the Hess Oil transactions, the conditions of the privatization of the banana industry, the response of the UWP government to strikes with its fatal casualties, et cetera—suggest a state with strong sovereign powers over the nation. Yet, as the political comedic group *Lucians* showed in its *vox populi*, and its parodies, such controls are unstable, given the economic incapacities of small states like St. Lucia (Crichlow 2009). What would have been far more productive here is an investigation of how such small island states exercise governmentalities, and with what effect. This approach would more fruitfully contribute to an understanding of the specific problems associated with the practice of governance (managing and administering territories) and the related practices of shaping the conduct of citizens and subjects at a moment when alternative forms of allegiances and identity shaping projects abound. These more complex frames foreground those vital state/society dynamics so necessary for an understanding of politics and governing in the present.

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Living My Dreams. Joseph “Reds” Perreira with Katherine Atkinson. Bonne Terre, Gros Islet, St. Lucia: Joseph Perreria, 2010. 152 pp. (Paper EC\$ 50.00) [Indianapolis IN: AuthorHouse, 2011, US\$ 11.70]

Throughout the West Indies, “Reds” Perreira is known as an incisive cricket commentator. But Perreira has never been content only to be an observer. He is a lifetime sports organizer, whose talent found its best outlet when he served as the Sports Coordinator for the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) between 1984 and 1996. Full disclosure: it was during those years that I worked with him training basketball referees.

Perreira’s focus has always been on using sport to achieve social progress. His work during the 1960s with a second-division football team based in an economically depressed area of Georgetown, Guyana, illustrates this point. Members of that squad had, as Perreira euphemistically puts it, “a reputation for losing their tempers.” Believing that the team’s poor performance on the pitch had little to do with ability, Perreira attempted to address the issues that did. He describes how he spent “evenings and weekends visiting with the players and their families, enlisting their relatives to support their endeavour, making sure they attended practices, kept decent hours and had clean uniforms.” It was, he recalls, “thrilling to watch the community mobilized.” His efforts included mounting a “one-man demonstration” in protest when the team was suspended because its secretary failed to attend the requisite number of league meetings (p. 26). A picture of the solitary Perreira carrying a hard-to-decipher placard calling on other footballers to “help your brothers” is included in the book (p. 29).

Perreira is a Caribbean regionalist. He was there during the halcyon days of West Indies cricket, providing a pan-Caribbean radio audience with vivid descriptions of the accomplishments of the region’s team. Because he was part of the broadcast group that linked the squad to its followers, his role was important in creating the bonds that even today connect the people in Jamaica to those in Guyana and all of the islands in between.

Perreira’s twelve years at the OECS Sports Desk were a period of real accomplishment. But at the same time they were always difficult and sometimes contentious. The job was demanding. Perreira reports traveling

two or three times a week. He needed to be personally present at the events his desk sponsored since administrators were scarce and the risk of mishaps always loomed. The Sports Desk benefitted from the fact that these were relatively prosperous years for the Windward Island banana growers. Though money was always tight he did have a budget to work with. He also negotiated some very beneficial deals, such as securing an intraregional discount from LIAT by which the airline provided a 50 percent discount to athletes traveling to OECS tournaments during LIAT's slack travel season. This allowed for a very active, concentrated, calendar of activities ranging from boxing to basketball.

In this work, Perreira showed himself to be a bit of a feminist. He writes, "when the Sports Desk was announced, everybody thought it would be a macho affair but I am happy to say we pushed for netball and had the OECS under 23 tournament and the OECS Club Championships which gave the best clubs in the sub-region a chance of meeting and deciding the best OECS netball club" (p. 91).

A disappointment concerns Perreira's attempt to build clubs to support teams. He preached the need for "a club structure that encouraged people in the communities to become involved" (p. 92). But even today this remains largely absent. Perreira mentions but does not detail various rebuffs and defeats he experienced throughout his career. For example, when he took the job at the OECS, there was resentment that an outsider (someone from Guyana and not from the subregion) had been appointed to the post. He writes that he "did not allow it to bother me because the proof of the pudding is in the eating" and that "within months my detractors were conceding that I was doing a good job because they were seeing action" (p. 86). He is more forthcoming about his difficulties with UNESCO. That organization provided funds to pay his salary, but not for programming. Some of UNESCO's requests for information were "almost laughable." Disregarding them, he focused more on "the information that was relevant and positive and showed the growth and potential of Caribbean sports," commenting that "Paris had a European view of sports administration that did not necessarily obtain in the Caribbean" (p. 92).

Perreira's ability to focus on the positive and work to overcome the limits he faced persists today. Slowed by a stroke, he continues to seek ways to contribute (and to gently grouse when his efforts are shunned). If there were

more people like Reds Perreira, the regional integration process and development of the Caribbean would be far more advanced than it is today.

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A Tale of Two Colonies: What Really Happened in Virginia and Bermuda?
Virginia Bernhard. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011. ix + 220 pp.
(Cloth US\$ 29.95)

2009 marked the 400th anniversary of the shipwreck that initiated English habitation of Bermuda, a twenty-one-square-mile Atlantic archipelago several hundred miles from the nearest landmass. The years surrounding this commemoration have seen the publication of three books aimed at a general audience (Doherty 2008, Glover & Smith 2008, Woodward 2009), and now a fourth. Like these others, *A Tale of Two Colonies* recounts the terrible storm that drove the *Sea Venture* off-course from its intended destination of Virginia to shipwreck on the tiny island's reefs; the infighting among the shipwrecked; the bounteous land- and seascapes that enabled the castaways to build other vessels and stockpile supplies; the eventual completion of their voyage to the mainland; and their invaluable assistance to the struggling Jamestown settlement in a richly detailed narrative that will delight fans of English and colonial American history alike.

The first five chapters alternate between Bermuda and Virginia and their diverging paths—Bermuda's to profitability, and Virginia's a near-constant teetering on the edge of ruin, while each of the final two chapters consider both colonies as "The Confluence of Three Cultures" (English, Indian, and African). The bulk of the book overlaps with *The Shipwreck that Saved Jamestown* (Glover & Smith 2008), including three similar chapter titles, but *A Tale of Two Colonies* extends the intertwined story of Virginia and Bermuda into the 1620s, through the early development of Bermuda under its own proprietary company of investors. The account of Spanish diplomats' efforts to monitor English activity and convey their reports to Philip III brings to life the rippling European effects of English activity in Bermuda and Virginia, and also demonstrates the significance of Protestant-Catholic conflict at the time. Settlement, planting, and the development of the cash crop of tobacco flourished (thanks to the knowledge and skill of African experts) in Bermuda even as Jamestown suffered from extremely high death rates, administrative mismanagement, and antagonistic relations with the Indian peoples of the area, although divisive factions within the Virginia Company affected both colonies.

Virginia Bernhard also offers general readers a behind-the-scenes look at how historians must work within the constraints of surviving evidence

to create a balanced narrative about the past, skillfully interweaving information about the often self-serving nature of various conflicting eyewitness accounts; the vagaries of document survival and archaeological finds; the happenstance of storms, voyage times, and personal rivalries; and the questions that still remain unanswered. Being open about this struggle puts her book in tune with recent scholarly attention to the way the available archive shapes the stories that historians tell about the past, although she might have pushed further with such analysis of Indian and African perspectives.

The explanations of historical messiness exist in tension with the book's response to its subtitle: "What Really Happened in Virginia and Bermuda?" Bernhard answers primarily in the singular while other scholarship on the interactions of peoples in the Americas aims more toward acknowledging multiple valid versions of "what really happened." (For a recent example, see Jacoby 2008.) That is not to say that this book argues for the myth that good Europeans brought civilization and religion to violent and savage Indians and inferior Africans. Among other examples, the narrative carefully details two English reprisals against "the wrong Indians, in the wrong place" (pp. 135-36). But while the introduction instructs readers that the "absent voices" of "Indians and Africans . . . must be extracted from the traces they left on the land and from the writings of Europeans who observed them" (p. 2), the chapters that follow do not fully accomplish that task.

This omission is problematic in a book aimed at a general audience, many of whom may neither be fully aware of the stereotypes present in the historical sources nor as knowledgeable about how to read for—and through—those inherent biases as are scholars like Bernhard. The characterization of the statement "Indians are devil worshipers" as one of the "half-truths" (p. 140) in an Irish spy's report to the Spanish might read to those already versed in the scholarship as an allusion to European misperceptions of Indian religions, but it is likely to be less clear to other readers. The notes cite relevant publications, but in-text explicit treatments of European biases about Indian peoples in documents such as John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624) are largely missing. To take one example, introducing a long passage from *Generall Historie* as being "one of the earliest (and still one of the best) descriptions of Virginia's Native people" without further interpreting Smith's use of adjectives such as "Craftie," "Savage," and "malicious" (p. 42)

does not offer general readers guidance about how English “ignorance of native cultures” (overleaf) affected Smith’s text and his interactions with Indians. At times, Bernhard’s choice of vocabulary unfortunately reinforces this characterization of Indians as underhandedly conniving: Powhatan was a “crafty ruler” and “devious,” while Smith was a “shrewd young captain” (p. 50). Her account of African peoples does not draw as specifically on Europeans’ general descriptions of Africans and so does not present the same degree of difficulty.

The implicit reinforcement of existing stereotypes about Indians, along with the emphasis on description over analysis, decreases the book’s suitability as a text in lower-level undergraduate classrooms where students may not have the skills to spin out the interpretations themselves. However, this rollicking tale of European colonization will give students and general readers alike a solid appreciation for what it is that historians really do.

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Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean. Peter E. Siegel & Elizabeth Righter (eds.). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. xi + 202 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.50)

The protection and maintenance of heritage in the Caribbean is characterized by an ongoing series of challenges and triumphs with the intensification of development over the past fifty years. Weighing the governmental interests of commonwealths or newly independent nations against the needs of the people is at the heart of these struggles. “Progress” versus “protection” is a common refrain when governments, NGOs, and individuals confront the pressures of development and tourism. Of particular note is the fate of archaeological sites, collections, and records, both prehistoric and historic, that represent the past of a community, town, or island. *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean* provides sixteen in-depth accounts of the legislative, political, and ethical status of cultural resource management (CRM) on islands throughout the Caribbean archipelago, assessed by those working on the “frontlines” of heritage management. Organized in roughly geographical order from north to south, each chapter summarizes the current state (at the time of publication) of heritage legislation, regulatory agencies, and archaeological practice within an island or group of islands, points to the remaining challenges, and proposes suggestions for future change.

As Peter Siegel notes in the preface, there is considerable variability between the number and type of policies and their efficacy. At the broadest level of the potential safeguard of heritage resources are the governmental regulations and standards currently in place or proposed. William F. Keegan and Winston Phulgence offer an impassioned essay entitled “Patrimony or Patricide?,” rightly asserting the role of a nation’s political status in determining the presence and persistence of heritage management laws. For example, while a commonwealth of a parent nation is legally under the jurisdiction of that nation’s antiquities laws, friction can result from the implementation of these laws due to inadequate staffing, local political agendas, and lack of funding. This problem is discussed by Benoît Bérard and Christian Stouvenot for the French West Indies, Jay B. Havisser and R. Grant Gilmore III for the Netherlands Antilles, Peter E. Siegel for Puerto Rico, and Elizabeth Righter for the U.S. Virgin Islands. Thus, even with the seemingly robust laws of the United States, France, and the Netherlands,

conducting CRM remains a challenge. For independent nations such as Cuba, Jamaica, and Barbados, governments that impose regulations must choose to update previous colonial-era statutes or adopt new legislation.

Several obstacles impede progress in the implementation of effective protection for heritage resources. Regulatory agencies charged with executing cultural heritage programs face numerous challenges including disparate regions to oversee (noted by Michael P. Pateman for the Bahamas), coordination of activities across multiple bodies (discussed by Andrea Richards and Ainsley Henriques for Jamaica, and Basil A. Reid and Vel Lewis for Trinidad and Tobago) and the authority to identify, protect, and maintain areas designated as “cultural landmarks” (discussed by Richard T. Callaghan for St. Vincent and the Grenadines) or “properties of interest” (assessed by Reid and Lewis for Trinidad and Tobago). Funding is also a clear point of contention within island nations that must decide which interest groups should pay for CRM programs: developers or governments. Siegel lists ideal conditions (what he terms “wishes”) for the future of heritage protection in the Caribbean, and raises the related issue of who should conduct archaeological investigations. Potential strategies include: a single governmental body, as suggested by Kevin Farmer in his review of imminent Barbadian legislation; private consulting firms selected by the developer, as recommended by Siegel; or government-sponsored, non-profit foundations founded by enterprising individuals such as SECAR in St. Eustatius, outlined by Haviser and Gilmore. Beyond differences in each group’s approach to fieldwork, all of these options still require a significant amount of coordination between government, developer, and NGOs to ensure the protection of an island’s sites, buildings, and objects. Without the authority conferred by “robust legislation that both rewards and punishes in the name of protection” (Farmer, p. 123), and the type of practical dialogue between interest groups outlined by Keegan and Phulgence (p. 150), none of the proposed measures in any of the regulations is feasible.

This dialogue also introduces the fundamental roles of education, public involvement, and the goals of descendant communities in policy-making and preservation planning. Nearly all of the authors express concern over the lack of educational programs related to heritage studies, the continued teaching of European history in schools, and the limited employment opportunities for those who wish to pursue a career in heritage management. Clearly these limitations are integrally related to the way the past is

remembered, shared, and preserved in tangible and intangible ways. The most poignant discussion of these ethical concerns and their impact on national and communal identity is Paul E. Lewis's chapter on heritage in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Comparison of his essay with Callaghan's more optimistic outline of "recent efforts" (both legislative and grassroots) on those same islands reveals that even within the activist community there are varying perspectives on the status and progress of heritage protection.

Related to questions about the public and education is the role of professional archaeologists, both local and foreign, who are directly engaged in the day-to-day struggles of identifying and maintaining heritage resources. Cogent critiques by Havisser & Gilmore and Reid & Lewis highlight the responsibilities of resident and incoming archaeologists to act as go-betweens in the complicated network of agencies, NGOs, developers, and the public. As experts in the field, their knowledge and experience can serve in negotiating for the protection of heritage and the training of future generations of local archaeologists and volunteers.

As with many current treatments of globalization, transnational migration, and development in the Caribbean, the issue of tourism and its costs is raised by a majority of the contributors to this volume. Since "tourism has become the rationale for conservation, restoration, and the protection of heritage sites" (Murphy, p. 79), some view it as a viable venture to support lobbying for further protections, while others remain wary of its unchecked expansion. With respect to heritage resources, tourism remains a double-edged sword that could be immediately beneficial to economies and areas of cultural heritage, while also producing long-term, destructive impacts on Caribbean communities and landscapes.

Given the amount of detail included in the individual chapters, this volume could have benefited from a more specific introduction outlining the archaeological focus of a majority of the essays, and a commentary or conclusion synthesizing the current status of heritage protection in addition to recommendations for the future. Nevertheless, it is a benchmark in opening dialogues between nations, scholars, and activists across the Caribbean not only about the importance of protecting heritage resources, but also about the practical realities of that protection in places where societal needs outweigh preservation of the past. It is a powerful testament to the dedication of the editors and contributors, and to all those on the "frontlines," that a

majority of the landmark legislative actions concerning heritage resources in the Caribbean have occurred over the past ten years.

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Out of Many, One People: The Historical Archaeology of Colonial Jamaica. James A. Delle, Mark W. Hauser & Douglas Armstrong (eds.). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. x + 332 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.50)

Out of Many, One People showcases the breadth and diversity of archaeological perspectives on Jamaica. Whereas previous Caribbean archaeological edited volumes have taken a thematic approach (e.g., Havisser 1999) or inter-island perspectives (e.g., Curet & Hauser 2011, Farnsworth 2001, Rainbird 2007), this volume provides an interdisciplinary focus on place. In doing so, the authors elucidate the changing nature of Jamaican life during the early modern period. The volume examines not only the complex social and cultural relationships of the island, but more importantly, the way material connections from different locales influenced, shaped, and were a product of life in the early modern Atlantic world (in chapters by Robyn P. Woodward on sugar production and Jillian E. Galle on comparative demography and consumer activities).

The opening chapters focus on Port Royal. This now partially submerged city provides an opportunity for terrestrial and underwater archaeologists to work in concert to create a better picture of urban life in the Caribbean. Maureen Brown's study of the New Street tavern site links a public tavern archaeological assemblage with the emergence of a colonial merchant class in the late seventeenth century. Marianne Franklin's study of wrought iron tools juxtaposes recovered material culture with the detailed archival records. Together these chapters illustrate the vibrant life in the "wickedest city on earth" (p. 41).

The volume's greatest contribution to Caribbean archaeology is its diachronic consideration of the changing lifeways of Jamaica's enslaved and subsequently emancipated African diasporic community. Douglas Armstrong's chapter brings together more than ten years of archaeological work at Seville Plantation, and explores creativity and dynamic communal space among the site's enslaved population. James Delle examines the intricate landscapes of power at the regional, plantation, and local spatial scales. He investigates how space was used on differing scales to create and reinforce power not through visual display but through practice. What is most striking about Delle's work is that he demonstrates how enslaved communities pushed back against dominant colonial structures, creating a life

and landscape outside the gaze of their white overlords. In his words, the enslaved community “created a habitus of their own that was still simultaneously intertwined in the spatial logic of the plantation” (p. 143).

While Delle studies how enslaved communities carved out a life within the plantation system, Candice Goucher and Kofi Agorsah explore “the stories of Maroons—enslaved Africans and their descendants—who fled from bondage and fought a series of wars to maintain their freedom” (p. 145). This contribution brings to light the archaeology of Maroon communities and posits that one cannot understand the Maroon experience without the aid of material culture (p. 159). Mark Hauser explores the phenomenon of “black markets” that were controlled by individuals of African descent. Chief among the sales in these markets were low-fired earthenwares called *yabbas*. Hauser argues that these markets were contested colonial frontiers comprised of a complex system of ceramic distribution networks from sites across Jamaica. In his words, “this analysis opens up for discussion archaeology’s role in understanding the formations of slavery, markets and empires” (p. 181). In a connected economic vein, Matthew Reeves studies the differing economic strategies among enslaved households, stressing the interconnection of enslavement, commerce, and social life, while the chapter by Gregory D. Cook and A. Rubenstein brings a maritime perspective to the plantation economies of St. Anne’s Bay. The final chapter, by Kenneth G. Kelly, Mark W. Hauser, and Douglas V. Armstrong, reflects on Jamaica’s postemancipatory landscape. Through comparative analysis they investigate the differing postslavery strategies of former slaves. Their study demonstrates that “former enslaved laborers remained caught in the social and economic web of servitude, repressive wage labor, and an inability to gain access to land and resources” (p. 257, citing Armstrong 2010).

While the work presented here successfully brings together archaeology and archival lines of evidence, a future collaborative angle might incorporate some of the recent work by architectural historians examining Jamaica’s built landscape (e.g., Nelson 2011), thereby understanding the relationships among the island’s material life, built landscapes, and environment. This volume’s broad approach to the study of Jamaica’s past places is at the forefront of contemporary approaches to the archaeology of island life in the Caribbean. As Armstrong notes in his epilogue, the future

will bring new research techniques, questions, and perspectives that will continue to enrich our understanding of Jamaica's social development.

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